NATIONAL REVIEW

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April 8, 1961

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

Peace, It's Wonderful

ALICE-LEONE MOATS

JFK Beginning to Bore You?

AN EDITORIAL

The Kernel of Machiavelli

GUISEPPE PREZZOLINI

Articles and Reviews by · · · E. v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN
RODNEY GILBERT · PRISCILLA L. BUCKLEY · RUSSELL KIRK
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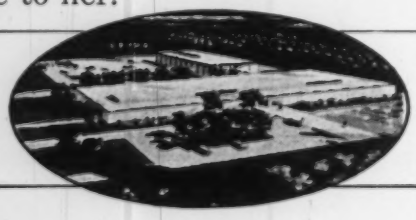

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NATIONAL REVIEW

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

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NATIONAL REVIEW is published weekly by National Review, Inc. at 440 Post Road, Orange, Conn. (second class mail privileges authorized at Orange, Conn.).

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EDITORIAL AND CIRCULATION OFFICES
National Review
150 East 35th St., New York 16, N.Y.
Telephone ORegon 9-7330

RATES: $15.00 a year ($8.00 for the 32-page issues, and $7.00 for the 8-page issues published on the alternate fortnights). The 8-page issues are available separately at $10.00 a year. In all cases, add $1.00 for Canada, $2.00 for other foreign subscriptions.
The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage, or better, a stamped, self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

In This Issue . . .

➔ we feature an essay on the "kernel" of Machiavelli by **Giuseppe Prezzolini,** the renowned Italian scholar and journalist who emigrated to this country in 1929, and taught at Columbia University. Dr. Prezzolini is best known as founder of the famous weekly, *La Voce,* around which the most important men of Italy (including Benedetto Croce and Benito Mussolini) congregated before the First World War. President Gronchi, by the way, will soon open an exhibition in Rome devoted to the magazine and the epoch that bears its name — "Il Tempo della Voce." Dr. Prezzolini is the author of many books on different subjects, from German mysticism to the history of spaghetti. His most popular book is *La Vita di Nicolò Machiavelli.* His exasperation with the ignorant references to Machiavelli made by last summer's political orators, prompted him to enter a clarification.

➔ **Alice-Leone Moats** is back from Europe only to sell her house in Washington to an affluent New Frontiersman, and will go right back to Rome. She writes about the confusion that surrounds the Peace Corps, and makes a prediction about how it will all pan out. The last prediction she made in NATIONAL REVIEW was in 1957— that if Fidel Castro ever came to power in Cuba, he would behave like a Communist. . . . **James Burnham** sorts out the mess in Laos — and describes the futility of containment. . . . **Russell Kirk,** who knows not fear, says calmly that teachers *aren't* underpaid! . . **Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn** discusses the political composition of his native Austria, now that Raab is resigning. . . . **Frank Meyer,** whose brilliant and searching *The Moulding of Communists* has gone into a second printing, has until the first of June to complete his new book, *Why Freedom?* To judge from his column in this issue, it is touch and go whether his book, or the world, will be finished first.

➔ **Rodney Gilbert** reviews a book about the unfinished case of Povl Bang-Jensen, the unfortunate Danish diplomat who thought he could act honorably at the UN, and survive. B-J was found dead a couple of years later in a park, and the authors of *Betrayal at the UN* examine the possibility that he was murdered. . . . **Peter Melik** — we may as well confess — is a pseudonym for one of America's most talented critics; and for a while, "Peter Melik" it must be. Melik reviews here two novels, the latest by Kingsley Amis and Muriel Spark. . . . Professor **Stephen Tonsor** reviews Professor J. L. Talmon's *Political Messianism, the Romantic Phase*—the sequel to the renowned *Rise of Totalitarian Democracy.*

➔ Coming up in the next issue: a new feature by our distinguished poetry editor, Professor **Hugh Kenner** . . . And a new reviewer (who takes on the first published book of NR's own Garry Wills) — ladies and gentlemen, we give you **Evelyn Waugh.** ➔

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The WEEK

● Available at the Government Printing Office: pamphlet entitled "Tea Drinking in 18th-Century America: Its Etiquette and Equipage." Will you have cream and sugar in your harbor?

● President Kennedy's foreign aid message provides, like a Kennedy message should, a little something for everybody. This country, says Kennedy, is going to abandon its short-term aid programs and get into really long-term economic development of every underdeveloped country throughout the world. And, miracle of miracles, giving away our money will actually stimulate our domestic economy! Commented Senator John Marshall Butler, "After 15 years and more than $80 billion, the President has informed the Congress and the American people that the time has come for a *long-range* foreign aid program! What does he think 15 years of Marshall Plan, Point 4 and Mutual Security is—a lost weekend?"

● Ed Murrow told the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee two weeks ago that he thought the United States Information Agency should be an "objective reporter" of the nation's affairs, including "controversies and weaknesses." He defended the "objectivity" of his documentary film, *Harvest of Shame*, which has drawn criticism from the Congress and from the American Farm Bureau Federation on the grounds of distortion. The Senate Committee confirmed Ed Murrow, unanimously, as Director of the USIA. One week ago Ed Murrow telephoned the British Broadcasting Corporation to ask them *not* to show *Harvest of Shame* in England. The next day, Moscow seized the lush opportunity to draw attention to our press censorship by relaxing its own censorship rules. Two days later Ed Murrow admitted that his effort to censor the BBC had been "foolish and futile." He had, he said, temporarily forgotten "which hat I was wearing." Which amounted to a confession, straight from the horse's mouth, that the national interest is not served by Ed Murrow, objective reporter, but by Ed Murrow, Director of the USIA. The story sounds confused, but at least it's *objective* confusion.

● The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee has issued its report on Linus Pauling's activities and testimony. One of the bright spots in the report is Senator Keating's opinion of the difficulty of getting a court ruling on the propriety of questions put by the committee. "As the law now stands," wrote Keating, "if a witness refuses to appear or to testify before an investigating committee, the subcommittee must first report the matter to the full committee, the full committee must then report the matter to the Senate or House, which must then resolve to cite the witness for contempt, after which the President of the Senate or the Speaker of the House, as the case may be, must refer the matter to a U.S. Attorney, who in turn must present the case to a Federal Grand Jury. If an indictment is returned, a full-scale trial must follow. . . . Meanwhile, more often than not, the original investigation has long since been closed without having obtained the desired testimony or evidence." The *Washington Post*, of course, wails at the "bullyragging" that Pauling received from the committee, without wondering why it's more difficult to take an indomitable fellow traveler of a hostile nation to court for refusal to answer questions about a possible conspiracy, than to take a citizen to court for refusal to tell the Census Bureau about his bathtubs.*

● Robert Kennedy, the Attorney General, has just announced (March 19) that price-fixing is rampant throughout the land. Investigations by his department are under way in practically every major metropolitan area. In New York, for instance, his agents have found that the customers are being mulcted on their meat and milk. A vigorous drive against such conspiracies is under way, he said, and "we're going to be able to lower prices." Meanwhile his Cabinet colleague, Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman, an ex-Marine from Minneapolis with a stentorian manner and a command of rough English, has been even more busy raising prices. The dairy farmers, for instance, have just been handed a government-guaranteed price well *above* their asking figure. Prices of cotton, corn, rye, oats and other feed grains (an action which boosts the cost of meat), as well as peanuts and rice have been jacked up by administrative order. The cost of the action on cotton alone has been estimated by Freeman himself at $500 million. Outside estimates (by Walter Garver of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, for instance) range from 50 to 100 per cent higher. Cost of the price-hiking action on the other commodities, again by Freeman himself, is $2 billion. The question to ask now is: Can Mr. Kennedy possibly push prices *down* that much?

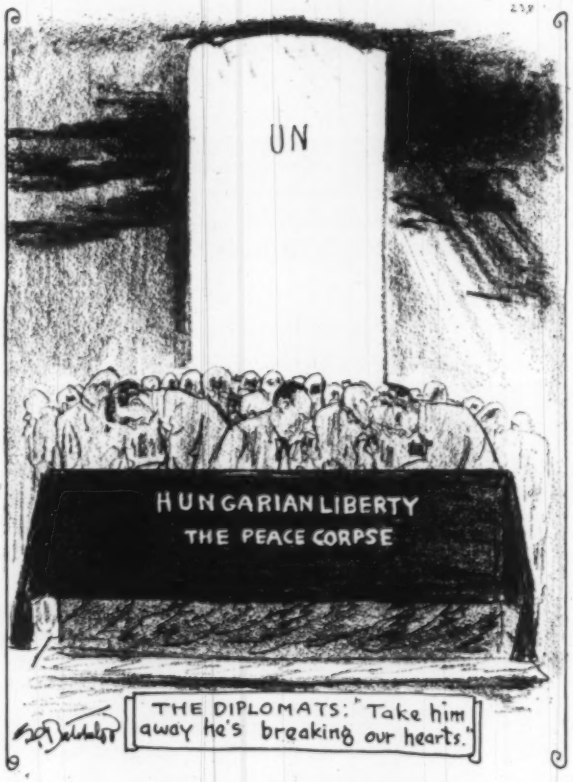
● You have to hand it to Edward Bennett Williams, Number One U.S. attorney for criminals: when he sets out to win a case, he thinks nothing of recharting the course of American foreign policy, if necessary to bail out his clients. Last week two men stood up for trial in Chicago, charged with spying against

*We invite guesses as to which member of the editorial board composed this paragraph.—Ed.

this country. Igor Yakovlevich Melkh, one of the Russian spies over at the UN, and Willie Hirsch, a German-born assistant, faced sentences of 25 years. But lo and behold, when time came to hear their pleas, the prosecuting attorney informed the judge that the Attorney General, Mr. Robert Kennedy, requested a dismissal of the indictments, in connection with the Administration's efforts to promote better relations with Moscow, the fruit of which anyone can appreciate who has recently been in Laos. The judge reluctantly went along with Better Understanding, and afterwards Edward Williams told the reporters that he had been in constant touch with Robert Kennedy about the case. No doubt at all the idea originated in his fertile mind. If the case looks bad for your Communist clients, why, ring in the Spirit of Geneva, and dispose of the matter that way. If the unsettled case of Adam Clayton Powell Jr. for income tax evasion ever comes up again, no doubt Mr. Williams will consult with the other Mr. Williams and arrange to have the prosecutor drop charges on the grounds that it would injure our relations with the emerging nations of Africa. The possibilities are infinite, and no doubt they will all occur to Mr. Williams.

● 1) The Pentagon has ordered formation of a new command for limited-war use, through merger of elements from the Army's Strategic Army Corps (paratroopers and reserve units) and the Air Force's Tactical Air Command (fighter and transport planes). The new command will be directly under the Joint Chiefs of Staff, thus outside any of the traditional services. 2) The Pentagon is developing a plan to merge all the military intelligence organizations (G-2, ONI, A-2, Joint Intelligence Group) into a single outfit, directly under the Joint Chiefs and the Secretary of Defense. 3) The Pentagon has announced that virtually all space projects will be unified, initially in the Air Force, but with a direct dependence on the High Command. 4) The Pentagon has disclosed that the Special Forces (guerrilla) unit, presently under the Army, is to be rapidly expanded, also for use outside the traditional service lines in limited war situations. . . . One most significant common attribute of all these moves: in both the good sense (adaptation to current strategic realities) and dangerous sense (extreme centralization), all conform to the general line of the Symington Plan, which Mr. Kennedy accepted from one of his task forces before inauguration and suavely pushed out of public sight.

● Scott McLeod's four-year term as ambassador to the Irish Republic was marked by improved Irish-American relations and an increase in trade and tourism. Several U.S. firms announced their intention to locate new plants in Ireland because of recent changes in that country's corporate tax laws. Mr. McLeod, however, couldn't change Ireland's long-standing policy of neutrality, a policy which was attacked in a St. Patrick's Day speech by Senator Dodd of Connecticut, himself an Irish-American, as not being commensurate with Ireland's traditional devotion to Christianity. But Mr. McLeod's failure in this area is understandable in that he represented a country which itself has displayed an inability to recognize the dangers of neutralism in the context of our present struggle against Communism. In answer to the original critics who would have prevented Scott McLeod from ever occupying the Embassy, the President of the Ireland-American Society called him "the most popular diplomat ever accredited" to Ireland. We welcome home a fine ambassador, and a charter subscriber.



● Last December the U.S. Chamber of Commerce conducted a survey of 730 trade or professional associations in eleven different sectors of the economy, trying to find out what are the major problems facing businessmen today. The two most frequently mentioned problems were the cost-price squeeze and government intervention and regulation. The survey represents the opinions of more than one and a half million business firms and individual businessmen,

but their opinions seem destined to be ignored by the present Administration in Washington. The cure for our problems, to judge from the actions and statements of the New Frontiersmen, is to raise the minimum wage and to slap further controls on business. Three million bureaucrats can't be wrong!

● Sign of the Times: A reader sent her little girl (age 7) upstairs to fetch a copy of *Treasure Island*. A few minutes later she was back, with another book: "I couldn't find *Treasure Island*," she reported, "but you can read to me from *Robinson Khrushchev*."

What's All the Shooting For?

A haze of unreality surrounds the Laotian crisis (the background of which James Burnham discusses on page 213). The controlling facts are simple enough. Pathet Lao, a Communist army supplied and reinforced from North Vietnam and Russia, holds about half of Laos' territory. It is advancing in field operations directed against the troops of the Laotian government, headed by Prince Boun Oum, who has been pro-Western in policy. Pathet Lao now threatens direct conquest of the two Laotian capitals, Vientiane and Luang Prabang.

Echoing Moscow and Peiping, Pathet Lao denies that Boun Oum is head of government, and "recognizes" instead the neutralist, Souvanna Phouma, now drumming up support in Europe. Following standard operating procedure for Communist takeovers, Pathet Lao proposes for Laos an enlarged neutralist government including solid Pathet Lao representation, under Souvanna Phouma: *i.e.*, a Popular Front government, subordinated by its political makeup to world Communist policy, and designed to evolve at leisure into a full People's Democracy.

After passively observing the Pathet Lao's advance —the obviously decisive fact—for the first two months of his Administration, President Kennedy suddenly brought into action all the paraphernalia of modern publicity to demand . . . , to call for . . . , well, just what *did* he demand and call for? The rhetoric sounded sort of like an ultimatum, but when asked if it was, he replied it wasn't. The President insisted on a cease fire, but didn't quite say "positively," and gave no date or time.

Was he summoning us and our allies to "defense of the Free World"? Not in the least. Six months ago, Laos *was* part of the Free World, and its location continues to be of strategic importance for the Free World's security. But President Kennedy asked only a "genuinely neutral and independent Laos," not a Laos within the Free World.

Did he project the defeat of an aggressive Communist army in process of conquering a peaceful people? Not at all. He asked only that the aggressor army should, please, stop shooting. He indicated his readiness to accept its representatives within the "genuinely neutral" government for which he is prepared to desert the legitimate government which has tried to stand by the West. As mechanism for bringing about the cease fire and installation of the Popular Front, Mr. Kennedy wants a neutralist-dominated international board or commission.

If you think it through, you will see that there is very little difference in political substance between what Mr. Kennedy proposes and what Moscow wants in Laos. It is principally a question, for Moscow, of the degree to which the United States shall be saved from open humiliation by face-saving formulas in the "neutralist," "broad coalition," and "international supervision" style. President Kennedy has *already* conceded defeat and the loss of Laos. It is further obvious that any Laos "solution" which leaves intact the Pathet Lao, which is the most powerful political and military formation in the country, makes it inevitable that Laos must become not "genuinely neutral" or even equivocally "neutralist," but a Communist puppet.

The usual basis for "agreement with Moscow" therefore exists—namely, the West's capitulation to Moscow's demands. There is much rumor of military action by the United States and the SEATO powers. Within the frame that President Kennedy has constructed, there is nothing worth fighting for.

JFK Cloying?

The adulators are showing that deep inside they are just a little troubled by the total performance of JFK, and they are searching for reasons why. The proximate discontent is the press conference, and all discussions of why the reporters are leaving the press conferences with a feeling of emptiness are preceded by extravagant testimonials to Mr. Kennedy's undisputed quick-wittedness. And who would deny this? He talked himself into the Presidency of the United States, after all.

The *Times*' James Reston suggests what's wrong maybe is that the questioners don't really know what it is they want to ask. . . . *Time* magazine thinks it's the general rowdiness of the press conference. . . . Someone else said it's that with all the television cameras and the formal amphitheater, we've lost the *Gemütlichkeit* we used to have back when Father Roosevelt would bring the children in and sit them down around his desk. . . . John Crosby, whose toughness is occasionally bipartisan, gets a little nearer to the problem when he reports, simply, that Kennedy's answers, while immediately satisfying, do not have

the rhetorical or dialectical stamina that really satisfies. For instance, he said, Kennedy's answer to a recent question about Laos. Asked a reporter: "Mr. President, could you tell us, sir, what in your opinion this country has obtained out of its roughly $310 million worth of aid sent in the last six or seven years to Laos?" Answered Mr. Kennedy: "Well, Laos is not yet a Communist country, and it's my hope it will not be." Laughter, applause, all that kind of thing.

Then when you get home and think about it, confesses Mr. Crosby, you realize Kennedy pulled a fast one.

* * *

Gentlemen of the press, may we enlighten you? What's the matter is that Mr. Kennedy does not now have, nor has he ever had, a strongly held, systematic, and logically consistent point of view about either domestic or world affairs. That was also true of his predecessor, and *his* predecessor. But nobody ever went to Truman at a press conference expecting anything more than a tough politician's visceral and personalized response to world affairs. From Eisenhower the press expected only the endlessly confused banalities, which checked any chance of purposive thought. From Kennedy, however, we have expected more. Here is an intellectual, trained by a first-rate university, a man who knows how to reason, a man who knows how to write books, and even read them. When he speaks, what he says ought to add up to something. And in Kennedy's case it simply has not, if you take into account the total performance.

Mr. Kennedy sabre-rattles in Laos, and makes concession after concession in Geneva. He wants religious freedom, and no freedom for religious schools. He wants price stability, and drafts a multi-billion-dollar budget deficit. He wants to solve the farm surplus problem, and turns it over to a man who absolutely promises, on his word of honor, to make it worse. He wants a sturdy alliance among the nations of the West, and incites a vote of censure against Portugal. There is and there isn't a missile gap. We are and we aren't in a bad depression. The UN is the hope of the world, and it's doing a terrible job in the Congo. . . . The head swims. One finds oneself actually wishing Kennedy's rhetoric rhymed with his performance! No man who ever listened to Mr. Eisenhower discuss our problems walked away expecting a coherent national policy. But Mr. Kennedy uses whole sentences with subjects, objects and verbs. And his policies are a mass of contradictions. That, gentlemen, accounts for that empty feeling in the pit of your stomachs.

Notes from a Ghost

Well, it's liberty, you see, liberty that we're trying to maintain in the United States, which is the only country in the world as far as I can see where you have this liberty, by which I would not undertake to preach that we're the best example for the rest of the world, although I do think that this move for national self-determination of itself is very proper in those circumstances. And that is why I say it's a problem, because for the first time in the hundred odd years of our republic the federal government, which is our responsible agency in the national defense, must initiate and guide programs connected with the defense but programs also that have to do with things which we have historically left to the various subdivisions, the states, for instance, or the working people.

Now this means that we have a national responsibility for education in these things as a matter of plain self-defense. And there's no argument as to that, only where we are going to be students in private schools or students in public schools in the national defense. It seems to me that we all agree on this.

Now I mentioned living conditions, and I want to go into that with you. You can't have healthy bodies and sound minds in some of the areas of this country, where most of those areas are in the outskirts or the centers of some of our major cities, because of really substandard living conditions in some of those areas, which are going to be put under the Department of Urban Affairs. This is necessary. The states and the people in the field cannot afford the cost of rebuilding all these; but we have to do it, there is no other way, and that's why I keep coming back to this problem we have, of our personal liberties and the great struggle we are in.

Now this leads into medical care and especially for us old folks who are getting on, although I must say I've enjoyed good health, despite what the opposition would like to have you believe, which is clearly the reason for better protection and insurance for all the people. I've had some military experience, and I know that sick soldiers don't fight well in battles and elsewhere along the line.

The same is true of unemployment, housing, the farm problem, keeping a sound dollar, standing by our commitments in the world, it's all there for anyone to see the connection between this problem and the thing I've been talking about, for the problem of our liberty, you and me, versus this great threat we are facing. You just can't escape, any more, this responsibility of the federal defense, the national defense. And that's the problem as I see it.

The Politics of Morality

An American professor in residence at a major English university was in town for a few days and telephoned not exactly to pay his respects (he is, albeit incompletely, a Liberal), but to exchange pleasantries and a little information: and told us he has quite a time Over There explaining, let alone defending, America's policy on Red China (see below). "You Americans take a moral position on Red China," they all say, "and you just can't do that in politics; politics is amoral." "I *know* you can't do it," our professor replies: "but you people, every one of you, are the greatest political moralizers in the world—about *everything*."

And indeed the British intellectuals, or at least the noisiest among them, are as a class the most active in England in asking, *e.g.*, for nuclear test suspension (for practical reasons? No: *"to take the moral leadership"*); for disarmament (for practical reasons? Only secondary: "because it's the *right* thing to do"). And a fortnight ago, they forced South Africa out of the Commonwealth. For practical reasons? They are most impractical. Because, said Mr. Macmillan, speaking *en esprit d'escalier*, "Members of the Commonwealth must now share not a common allegiance, but a common idealism."

The Commonwealth should kick out South Africa, and the UN should let in Red China. That is logic according to Kreuttner, whose logic is the kind being advanced all over the world. The Communists grow fat on that kind of logic.

U.S. vs. *Rickenbacker et al the Rest of Us*

On March 17, three months after his appearance before the Federal Grand Jury, Mr. William F. Rickenbacker was indicted for his refusal to fill out the special questionnaire given to every fourth house during last year's census. NATIONAL REVIEW published the article ("The Fourth House," May 21, 1960) in which he described the questions (how many bathrooms? how many cars? what appliances? how much income from various sources? what mode of travel from house to office?) and outlined his stand on the Fourth Amendment's protection against unreasonable search.

If Rickenbacker and his attorney, the illustrious C. Dickerman Williams, fail to have the indictment dismissed, the case will go to trial; and they are determined to carry it to the Supreme Court if necessary. It's going to be an interesting case.

In large terms the issue is between the welfare state and individual liberty. For the welfare state, in order to pass around its benevolences, must know the intimate details of the lives, actions, and possessions of the individual citizen. If the welfare state is proven in the courts to be powerless to compel citizens to divulge such information, then the welfare state will have received some sort of a setback.

On the other hand, if Rickenbacker loses his case and takes his sixty days behind bars, it will have been made clear to all that this country has now passed into an advanced stage of central and coercive governmental power. When a man goes to jail for refusal to divulge, among other things, the number of bathrooms he has in his house, the lights have got pretty dim. In one way we almost—almost, mind you—hope that our associate editor and everyone else who did as he did will go to jail. As Thoreau said, in times when the government imprisons any unjustly, the true place for a just man is also the prison. And it remains true that one of the best ways to get rid of a bad law is to enforce it.

Oh Yes . . .

The press of affairs has delayed a rejoinder to the editors of the *Boston Herald* who a few weeks ago undertook to instruct the editors of NATIONAL REVIEW in the rules of logic and allied matters. Said the *Herald*: 1) NATIONAL REVIEW commends William Rickenbacker for refusing to complete the Census Department's notorious Blue Form—on the grounds that individual citizens must from time to time say No to the Monster State if they are to remain free; yet 2) NATIONAL REVIEW condemns Willard Uphaus—who, after all, went to prison for saying No to the Monster State. Ergo 3), NATIONAL REVIEW is inconsistent.

To all of which we reply: 1) the Census Department's curiosity about the number of bathrooms in Mr. Rickenbacker's house is not sustained by any of the powers explicitly or implicitly vested in the Department of Commerce in connection with the taking of a national census as prescribed by the Constitution; 2) New Hampshire's curiosity about the number of Communist spies who may be meeting in Dr. Uphaus' camp to plot, *inter alia*, the liquidation of the federation of which New Hampshire is a constituent state, is sustained by tradition and legislation, state and national; and even the Supreme Court recognized this authority when it sent Dr. Uphaus packing off to jail.

Gentlemen of the *Herald*, not *every* defiance of the State is a blow struck for liberty. If you defy the State by, *e.g.*, murdering your neighbor, you do not augment liberty. The distinction is to repress the growth of government when it moves to contract liberty. Some laws protect, or even augment liberty:

For the Record

Entry list for New York mayoralty contest getting crowded. Last week John Hay Whitney, former U.S. Ambassador to England and owner of N.Y. Herald Tribune, put out a feeler. And two ambitious young N.Y. congressmen, Republican John Lindsay and Democrat William Fitts Ryan, might be persuaded to run. Observers say the Lindsay, Ryan votes against legislation forbidding the employment of subversives on merchant ships or as longshoremen (they were the only two congressmen to oppose that bill) was bid for important N.Y. Liberal support. . . . California Gov. Pat Brown reportedly planning his '62 campaign on the assumption Richard Nixon will be his opponent. . . . Brown's grandstand play for Liberal support—he ordered his State Attorney to investigate the John Birch society—earned him a rebuke from American Civil Liberties Union on grounds such an investigation would be an infringement of the First Amendment. . . . ADA formally asking for restoration of Dr. Robert Oppenheimer's security clearance (now that the nation "is recovering from the bad hangover of McCarthyism").

In Morocco, 39 Soviet technicians are now assembling 14 MIGs at the former U.S. Air Force base of Ben Slimane—just twelve miles as the crow flies from an operational U.S. base at Nouaceur.

Not mentioned by the press, the fact that Frank McCulloch, newly confirmed chairman of the National Labor Relations Board and former administrative assistant to Sen. Paul Douglas (D., Ill.) was a one-time member of the Socialist Party and Secretary of the Illinois Workers Alliance. . . . Both Time and Newsweek (as we went to press) were planning cover stories on Barry Goldwater for this week. . . . Senate Minority Leader Dirksen had this to say about U.S. vote in the UN supporting an investigation of Portuguese Angola: "It marked the first time the U.S. was paired with the Soviet Union on a losing issue before the Security Council—hardly a proud moment for Uncle Sam."

The Kennedy Administration has warned Washington Redskins not to practice discrimination. (If they disobey, will they be sent back to the reservation?)

and anti-subversive laws are, if sensible, of this character; and they are implicitly sanctioned by constitutional provisions having to do with domestic tranquillity and the common defense.

D'accord?

I Think I'll Buy a Ouija Board

The *Post & Times-Herald*
of Washington fame
Is adding one more
to its ravenous name;

A changed editorial bent,
they declare,
Is NOT in the offing—
except here and there.

(Which could lead to a discourse
on leopard and spot,
But the *Herald* is dead,
and I'd rather not.)

And, oh yes—the title
is due for a tweak:
There's a rumor they plan
to rename it Newspeak.

ELEANOR MELLICHAMP SMITH

Cant

Professor John Kenneth Galbraith told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that yes, in due course he expected Red China would be a member of the United Nations. Though he saw "no immediate hope of the solution," he certainly hoped the "time would come when it would be possible to see two Chinas and peace established in that part of the world." Senator Wiley asked hopefully: "You mean you would admit Red China to the UN when Mao Tse-tung is no longer in the picture and when its other Communist leaders no longer take orders from the Kremlin and accept the idea of an independent Formosa?" "Wouldn't go that far," said the professor. "But regimes do change, and given an agreement on Formosa and acceptance of the UN Charter, other matters seem possible of negotiation. I am an optimist in that I would hope that problems of this sort can be resolved peacefully."

He is not merely an optimist, he is a downright phony, and merely the latest in the long line of Americans affiliated with the New Frontier who just plain aren't saying what is on their minds when the matter of Red China comes up.

The thing about Red China is: 1) the overwhelming majority of the American people are opposed to

admitting Red China to the UN for a number of reasons, one of them having to do with a hundred thousand casualties in Korea; and 2) the Liberal intelligentsia, almost to a man, is committed to the notion that Red China *should* be admitted, for the commonplace reasons. But when a Kenneth Galbraith, or a Chester Bowles, or an Adlai Stevenson appears before a Senate committee, or before any group with a very wide audience, he will equivocate. He will say just enough to push along the movement to legitimize Red China, but not enough to tie him down to formal advocacy of that move. (Would Galbraith actually *oppose* recognition any time before Red China can be shown to have accepted the principles of the Charter?) It is as hypocritical for Galbraith to speak, as though he really anticipated it, of the day off in the future when Red China will "accept" the UN Charter, as it would be for an economist to speak of the day when governments will abolish taxes. Red China will believe in the UN Charter—which calls on all the nations of the world to pull together for peace and freedom—after it ceases to be Red. And when you talk in *those* terms, you talk about things that may or may not happen after Galbraith's grandchildren are old enough to smile at the quaint social and economic views of their grandfather. It is all right for an intellectual to talk in great sweeps about the future course of civilizations: but let him make clear that is the kind of thing he is talking about. In this connection a Toynbee, or a Dawson, or a Voegelin can get away with the kind of thing a Galbraith cannot get away with.

Why don't the Liberals cut out the tergiversations and just say, plain and simple, to all of us, what they say to themselves in the privacy of their workshops (how do we know what they say in the privacy of their workshops? Because we know how their minds work), namely: We ought to recognize Red China, and the sooner the better. They should show some of the guts American soldiers showed when exchanging machine gun fire with Red Chinese.

National Trends

Peace, It's Wonderful

ALICE-LEONE MOATS

If the Peace Corps had been a new slimming compound it couldn't have been launched with more superlatives, more promises of quick and lasting results, more assurances that it would kill all ills. And, as usual, the public has fallen for the fancy doubletalk and is ready to buy the advertised product without asking questions.

In this case, it is perhaps just as well because nobody connected with the Peace Corps appears to have done enough homework to know the answers. President Kennedy's brother-in-law, R. Sargent Shriver, who won quick confirmation from the Senate Foreign Relations Committee as director of the newly-created government agency, held a press conference on March 6 which shed little light on the future activities of the Peace Corps. His answers to questions either began or ended with such phrases as, "I'd just like to make one comment, and it is that all of the things here are in the tentative planning stage," or, "Yes, we plan to do that, but like everything else in the Peace Corps, it's flexible."

In spite of tentative planning and flexibility, however, preparations are already under way for a pilot project that will put 500 to a thousand volunteers in training at the beginning of June and have them overseas by the end of the year. Twenty thousand questionnaires have been sent out to people who wrote indicating a desire to serve as unpaid workers abroad. They are four pages long and require information as to the skills and abilities of the applicant. Nothing has been overlooked — from a talent for languages to a talent for operating a bulldozer; from expertness in folk dancing to expertise in handling equipment for canning; from knowledge about the world in general and certain countries in particular, to an aptitude for football.

The applicants who get over this first hurdle will be interviewed by panels made up of "interested citizens" and there may even be a written test; that has not yet been decided. Finally, the best candidates will be chosen by the officials at headquarters in Washington. It is estimated that only one out of ten aspirants can make the grade.

Core for the Corps

The training is to be given at "six or a dozen" American colleges and universities and will last four or six months. What Mr. Shriver terms the "core curriculum" will be made up of courses in American institutions, philosophy and democratic government; economics; the culture and customs of the country to which a volunteer is to be assigned; languages. Mr. Shriver has been assured by "linguistic experts that even exotic languages can be learned to a reasonably good point in four or five months if you concentrate hard enough, and that is what we will try to do."

Besides the "core curriculum" there are to be courses for those

preparing to specialize in teaching, or engineering, or plumbing, or whatever.

Mr. Shriver allayed any fears that the shortage of teachers in this country might be aggravated by drawing them into the Peace Corps when he explained that a "large number of trained educators have confirmed our belief that a graduate of an accredited American institution of higher education would have no difficulty in teaching English as a second language, in learning to teach English as a second language, in a high-pressure, if you will, training program of four months duration." It is obvious that the trained educators who reach that conclusion did not first try to parse one of Mr. Shriver's English sentences!

A volunteer must be over eighteen and agree to serve for at least one year besides the training period. It is hoped that most of the boys and girls will remain two years, but anybody is free to quit if he isn't happy. The tentative maximum term is three years. Although no salaries are to be paid, all expenses for food, housing, clothing and travel will be covered "to provide volunteers with a standard of living commensurate with the country in which they are living and the work that they are doing." In plain English this means that a school teacher, for instance, who lands in Nigeria will receive enough money to live in the same style as a Nigerian school teacher, or a road builder who is sent to Burma will enjoy the same comforts as a coolie. So far, nobody seems to have ventured to point out that in Asia and Africa, a foreigner who goes native loses face, and once he has lost face, he can't teach anybody anything.

A bonus of fifty or seventy-five dollars a month—the exact figure hasn't been decided—is to be paid to each volunteer, but not in the field; these sums will accumulate to form a nest egg that will tide over the homecoming pioneer while he finds a job. A group of eminent men representing labor, industry, government and education is prepared to contribute its time and energy towards developing appropriate job opportunities for all volunteers returning to "civilian status." And, as Mr. Shriver puts it, "The Public Health Service has graciously agreed to accept the responsibility for the care of the Peace Corps volunteers in this country and while they are abroad." That, clearly, is expected to dispose of any risk of Buster coming home with several unpronounceable diseases and a couple that aren't pronounced in polite society.

It's Flexible

So, the broad outlines have been sketched in, but precisely what these New Look pioneers are to do once their covered wagons start rolling across deserts and through jungles hasn't yet been decided. It's flexible. No definite project can be worked out until it is known exactly where they will be sent. The general idea is that they are to teach English, to help build roads, set up sewage and irrigation systems, instruct the natives of underdeveloped countries in modern techniques and also teach them how to live. When the latter aim was announced, a Mr. Edmond A. Gibson wrote a letter to the *Washington Star* asking, "Is it possible that this notion can be seriously entertained?" After giving an unflattering picture of the average American college graduate, he ended, "I don't know about the citizens of other lands, but if anyone suggested to me that I allow one of these half-wits to teach me how to live I would consider the suggestion a personal insult."

Although so far no foreign nation has declared that it has been insulted, neither have there been any indications of wild enthusiasm for the presence of Peace Corps volunteers. Mr. Shriver, when asked how many countries had expressed a desire—officially or unofficially—to have some pioneers sent to them, answered that there had been about ten or a dozen, but he wouldn't specify which ones.

Nobody at the press conference inquired what precaution would be taken to prevent the infiltration of Communists into the Peace Corps. At headquarters, I was told that I might be right in believing that the Communists would be greatly tempted to take such an organization over, but I mustn't worry—all applicants would be thoroughly investigated. I pointed out that a thorough investigation takes several months and it was explained that each applicant will be screened during the training period; if any candidate isn't given a clearance, he will be dropped without explanation. The Peace Corps is in a hurry to get the show on the road and the hell with bothering about details like a waste of time or expense.

The possibility of sex rearing its busy little head has also been taken into consideration. The unofficial attitude on this question is to accept the facts of life unless they become too obvious. In other words, any Peace Corps missionary unwise enough to engage in public sin with one of the natives he or she has gone to redeem, will promptly be shipped home.

The problem the optimists at headquarters don't seem to be prepared to face is the difficulty of finding college graduates with the technical training that would be useful to the Peace Corps, who will be willing to abandon their careers at the outset or in mid-stream in order to go hooting off to distant lands as unpaid workers. And, even if some are rash enough to do it, will they be allowed to use their skills in countries where labor laws forbid the hiring of foreigners? The answer to that is, "We hope to be able to come to some agreement with the local unions."

Nothing is to be allowed to stand in the way of this pioneer corps, which would certainly puzzle the original pioneers if they could return to earth and see it. They would not understand the new frontiersmen who are setting forth in groups under the watchful eye of a supervisor, all arrangements made and all expenses paid by a benevolent government, their health cared for by a gracious Public Health Service and their return to comfortable homes guaranteed.

In a little speech that opened the press conference, Mr. Shriver said, "I hope that the Peace Corps is going to take a lot of people by surprise." Everything certainly indicates that this wish of his will be fullfilled; a lot of people are going to be surprised and nobody more than the citizens of underdeveloped countries who are about to be taught to live by a Peace Corps.

The Third World War

Laos and Containment

JAMES BURNHAM

What these late events in Laos show, once more, is the impossibility of a policy of containment. Not containment's mere undesirability or inferiority relative to other conceivable policies; but quite literally its impossibility. The policy of containment has two integral elements: positively, to halt the advance of the Communist enterprise; negatively, to renounce offensive operations, of whatever sort, inside the enemy sphere. It is this combination that cannot, repeat cannot, be carried out in practice.

Burnham

It isn't a question of what party is in power or what particular individual happens to be President. Containment has been the foreign policy of the United States government throughout the postwar period, and has failed, with nonpartisan inevitability. Under Truman's containment, Communism took east Europe and mainland China. Under Eisenhower's containment, it was granted North Korea, took North Vietnam and Tibet, entered the Middle East, got footholds in Africa and seized a beachhead in the Caribbean. Under Kennedy's containment, Laos' departure from the Western camp (at least as far as neutralism) has already been conceded; the Communists have established a "Yenan government" in Congo's Oriental Province; Brazil has broken the solid South American diplomatic front.

The present predicament in Laos is not, certainly, of President Kennedy's making. Taken by itself, the situation in Laos is just about insoluble. Most of its area is jungle and mountain, with no railroads, few roads, and a primitive economy. Its people—Buddhist, illiterate, lighthearted and lazy—do not take naturally to warmaking. Normal American military methods are unsuited to the local environment.

Surgeons Left the Cancer

By all accounts, our support programs have been rather badly conceived. We did not aim toward the right size (smaller) and kind (adapted to guerrilla, ranger, paramilitary tactics) of army. Our too massive civil aid seems neither to have strengthened the economy nor seduced popular psychology. However, granted the containment premise, it is doubtful that any program could have done more than delay the Laotian slide.

After Laos came into existence through the 1954 Geneva negotiations that carved up French Indochina, the Communist force (Pathet Lao) was left in being and in control of the northern provinces. Nothing was done to defeat and dissolve the Pathet Lao, which was in direct land communication with North Vietnam and Communist China, and through them with Russia. Its military units and political apparatus could be built up at leisure, to almost any desired level.

Laos could not be, and cannot be, defended exclusively from within Laos. Obviously the Laotians cannot defend themselves by their own efforts against pressures brought by nations so overwhelmingly more powerful as China, Russia, or indeed North Vietnam. But even the Laotians plus the United States plus SEATO plus NATO cannot defend Laos indefinitely by defensive operations mounted inside Laos, short of the commitment of a force so great as to denude other theaters.

The defense of Laos is possible only if it includes operations *outside* of Laos; only if it comprises or at least threatens offensive operations of one sort or another against the enemy's own territory and positions. The anti-Communist Chinese guerrillas in the vague North Burma border areas have been such a threat, if a small one. It is interesting that a successive enemy campaign to neutralize and get rid of these guerrillas (now being evacuated to Taiwan) has paralleled his advance within Laos. Free China is a threat, and without its existence on Taiwan and Quemoy, all Southeast Asia would have fallen some time ago. But the policy of containment forbids exploitation of the offensive potential of Taiwan—initially in political warfare, raids, guerrilla actions, stimulations of mass resistance, etc.—which would be the best possible defense for SE Asia. And it is of further interest that the campaign to liquidate Free China is also stepped up along with the renewed SE Asian thrust.

No Defense by Defense

Just as Laos cannot be defended in Laos, SE Asia, as a whole, cannot be defended indefinitely in SE Asia, or the Congo in Africa, or Cuba in the Americas. There aren't enough arms in the universe to rush all over the world plugging each and every crack that opens. The enemy can be *held—contained*—only if he is compelled to divert his energy from making troubles for others to meeting troubles of his own. In other words: containment is possible only through what amounts to a policy of liberation.

You cannot win by negotiation what you have lost in the field. It is unlikely that any measures so far envisaged by Mr. Kennedy can prevent Laos, already lost by us, from being taken over by the enemy (doubtless under some face-saving neutralist formula). If we couldn't hold Laos by a policy of containment, it will be still less feasible to hold the remainder of SE Asia, which will be much weakened by the Laotian loss. Already South Vietnam is under heavy attack, and Burma is swinging toward Peiping-Moscow.

President Kennedy should not be too much blamed for failing in Laos. But the blame for the successor debacles will be rightly on his shoulders if he fails to draw, and apply, the lesson once more taught by this first major defeat under his auspices: that U.S. world policy—the policy of containment—is bankrupt.

Letter from the Continent

Change of Command in Austria

E. v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

In Austria, one of the most sensitive points in Europe before the last war, a change has taken place which may prove to be significant. Because of ill health, Chancellor Raab has resigned and nominated his successor, Dr. Alphons Gorbach, thus maintaining his strong hold on the party. Gorbach, a rather colorful personality, lost a leg as an officer in 1917, and after World War I was graduated a doctor of civil and canon law. As a political leader with strong Catholic convictions, he was arrested after the *Anschluss* and served two long stretches in Dachau. His ability to survive this ordeal is an indication of his toughness. Liberated by the Americans, he immediately returned to politics and became the third president of the Austrian Diet. Unlike a number of former concentration camp inmates, he vigorously opposed the persecution and punishment of Nazis. In February 1960 he was elected chairman of the People's Party (*Volkspartei*), the right-wing partner in the coalition government, and he now combines the positions of party chairman and Federal Chancellor. Soon after his nomination, he made an interesting and widely-acclaimed declaration on the nature of his party's coalition with the Socialists, and stressed the need to maintain a genuine separation of powers. Gorbach has an anti-Nazi record which, combined with his tolerant attitude toward former Nazis, makes him an ideal party leader, if for no other purpose than to win elections.

Kuehnelt-Leddihn

The Socialists received a narrow majority of votes in the last election but failed to win a majority of seats in the Diet. The only other faction represented is the Liberals who, significantly enough, consist of some *old* Liberals plus a majority of ex-Nazis—of people opposed to the Church and the Church-backed People's Party, and yet too bourgeois to vote the Socialist ticket. The two coalition powers compete for the favors of this remnant—a delicate situation, since voters often have to be lured with promises, attitudes or mild insinuations which serve to stir up memories of their Nazi past. The Socialists, of course, let it be known that at least they are good anti-clericals, which they can easily prove by their record. However, in this matter they must be cautious lest they alienate some of their own voters. Public opinion polls have established that a good 30 per cent of the Socialist voters are practicing Catholics.

The Communists no longer figure in the Diet; the Big Coalition seems here to stay. Gorbach has therefore raised a few questions on the principle of coalition, and has served notice on the Socialists that he will encourage those who are tired of this perennial liaison. The reader can get an idea of Austria's situation by imagining what political life in the United States would be like if Republicans and Democrats worked together in both Houses and enjoyed an almost equal share in the Presidency and the cabinet. A kind of dry rot would set in. Add to this Austria's "neutrality" (of a military character only) and one can foresee danger in the heart of Europe. Democracy can survive neither momentous ideological dissent nor its opposite, a total lack of visible strife, honest contradiction and competition.

In the behind-the-scenes struggle between the two parties, the Socialists have the advantage of a less inhibited demagoguery. The nationalized industries, of which only one, the VOEST (steelworks) is a real success, are under socialist control and permanently in need of subsidies. Where should these come from? Obviously from taxes—through "soaking the rich." The situation is not yet analogous to that in the United States or Britain where at a certain level incomes are virtually expropriated. But the Austrian tax ceilings are 55.5 and 63.7 per cent, sufficient to stifle the spirit of enterprise on which a free economy rests.

An essay published recently in *Die Industrie* by Alexander Pauper (the pseudonym of a high-ranking Austrian finance administrator) has created quite a stir. This brilliant piece surveys world politics and finance (including the morbid yielding to the blackmail of helping "underdeveloped nations") and points out how mass envy is mobilized, no matter how irrational or costly the maneuver. "Pauper" proves that exploitation of the richer minorities works to nobody's benefit, since the sums thus obtained are small fractions of the national budgets. We are told that a reduction of the Austrian tax ceiling to 30 per cent would mean a loss to the budget of only 1.5 per cent.

Trouble in the Tyrol

Partisan considerations are overshadowed by a problem which concerns the entire nation—that of the Central Tyrol, annexed by Italy in 1919, whose inhabitants have furiously resisted Italianization ever since. At a time when African tribes barely emerging from the Neolithic period are successfully clamoring for independence, this abscess in Free Europe's body politic menaces our whole equilibrium. The Italians are unwilling to live up to either the letter or the spirit of agreements reluctantly signed by Austria in 1946. The first acts of violence have, fortunately, resulted only in the destruction of a Fascist monument. Seriously repressive measures by the Italians would not only mobilize Austrian public opinion more effectively against Italy, but would enrage the Germans. In the twenties the Central Tyrol served as a breeding ground for Italian fascism. Judging by the percentage of "neo-Fascist" votes cast in recent elections there, it may well do so again and thereby give birth to a species of neo-Fascism in Germany as well. To prevent such a negative development will be one of Chancellor Gorbach's foremost tasks.

The Kernel of Machiavelli

A distinguished scholar suggests the West would be better off if its leaders put into practice the power principles Machiavelli synthesized

GIUSEPPE PREZZOLINI

In the course of the campaign I heard four different uses of the word, "Machiavellian." Each time I was convinced that the person using the word had not the least idea what it meant.

Who was Machiavelli?

Poorly paid, badly treated, and practically unknown except among a group of friends; a diligent and honest secretary of the Florentine State Commission for Defense—that was Machiavelli during his lifetime. His reports, read by a few, and his published works, reveal the realistic doctrines, the virile, resolute style, the independence that have made his name feared, hated and dreaded ever since. Almost every year a new book appears to attest to the fact that though many people have tried to kill him off, his thought is much too alive to stay buried.

To summarize the ideas of this man who for more than four centuries has kept churches and universities busy in refuting him is a particularly arduous task in a country where English is spoken. I do not know if this is due to an Anglo-Saxon dislike for relentless reasoning or to a tacit agreement on hypocrisy. There have been plenty of rulers in England from Henry VIII—or shall we say from William the Conqueror—to Churchill, who acted as Machiavellians, but not one has admitted it. The English language has never found an expression corresponding to *ragione di stato*, and has resorted to the French *raison d'état*, nor has it been able to settle the confusion between the concept of "the State" as a superhuman organism that endures and the concept of "government," which is only the state's human and transitory representative. These are two of the cardinal concepts of Machiavelli which have never penetrated the Anglo-Saxon mind.

The real core of Machiavelli's thought is the problem of evil. Up to this time, evil had been considered something to be combated in the human heart and avoided in individual human conduct. For Machiavelli evil took on another aspect, as a necessary and inescapable factor in political life, and in all dealings between organized societies. With Machiavelli, evil became a part or a moment of the good, and was to be accepted as a realistic affirmation of human nature. The attempt at its absolute avoidance resulted in still greater evil in practice.

The Evil in Man

The concept of evil implicit in human nature is not extraneous to early Christian thought. Not without reason is Saint Augustine considered a forerunner of Machiavelli because of his theory of the State as an association of gangsters and of gangs as incipient states. But with the Christian philosopher, the Grace of God is always present, even if veiled under an inscrutable judgment, offering mankind deliverance to a better world. In Machiavelli there is no escape, except in a Stoic acceptance of the evil in politics as directed towards the common good.

It is precisely because of this dark concept of the State that a commentator wrote: "Machiavelli has put Satan on the throne," and that several recent works speak of "the demonic" in politics. In referring to nuclear warfare, a great Protestant theologian of today, Reinhold Niebuhr, said that democracies "were divided between those that want to be pure and those that want to be responsible," and that "there is no responsibility without guilt." Niebuhr spoke like a Machiavellian by thus suggesting that every ruler must have a sense of guilt in acting, but that he has no alternative, except not to act.

Machiavelli seen in this light differs greatly from the common image that the Anglo-Saxon countries, forgetting his advocacy of courage, greatness and sacrifice, have created of him as a vulpine counselor of treason for the benefit of a tyrant. He is much better, or much worse, than such a childish interpretation. The continuing interest in Machiavelli has in reality sprung from his view of the burden of the statesman: that the statesman must at times be evil for the good of the citizens. The statesman is not *Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi* ("the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world"), but the leader who is willing to act counter to his conscience, even to lose his soul, for his own country.

Why? The beginning and the foundation of the thought of Machiavelli is the belief that men are fundamentally evil: they are by nature egotistical, covetous, revengeful, ungrateful, envious, cruel. In general, they are even worse than evil. They are cowards, unable to choose a direction towards either good or evil with vigor and determination. "But because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold, nor hot, I will begin to vomit thee out of my mouth" (Apocalypse, 3.16). But men can be improved by laws and by the discipline of arms, that is by the State. Machiavelli considers the State a *form* which in certain initiating movements of history—and always because of violence, such as revolutions or wars—is imposed upon the *matter*, that is upon individuals who comprise the people. Hence he calls republics or monarchies "mixed bodies."

Through the enforcement of laws, the State can make men surmount their natural egotism and contribute to the common good. What is the common good? It is the healthy con-

dition of the body of the State, in which all the parts work harmoniously together towards the welfare of the whole body, and the whole body reacts to injury or damage to any one part.

The States, being bodies, are subject to all the natural vicissitudes of a body. That is, they may get sick, and they do not last forever—States die. Each State is always in competition with other States, and expands and conquers the territories and possessions of others, or is conquered and divested of possessions. A State is healthy when it wins out in the competition. If it loses, this is because it is corrupt or sick.

Corruption of States

Corruption of the State may stem from many roots: factional division, conflict of interests among the citizens, differences of language or religion, lack of loyalty toward the country, or too much wealth and power in a single family or man. All these abnormalities of a part of the State are to be considered cancers which weaken the State and ultimately render it vincible. The principal root of corruption is idleness, or in other words, wealth and peace.

Too much power and wealth, and too long a period of peace, tend to corrupt States much as human bodies are weakened by too much food and too little exercise. Corruption means that the individuals making up the State place too much emphasis on enjoyment and are not willing to sacrifice personal wishes to a common aim. They do not obey the laws, and are not prepared to die for their country. They are therefore ripe for treason and subjection to an enemy.

Men, says Machiavelli, are at their best when they are forced under the pressure of necessity; not when they are allowed to do as they desire. It is want and adversity, moments of crisis, of desperation, of revolt, of struggling for existence, that make people great; not abundance and an easy life.

The word *virtue* (*virtú*) brings us to one of Machiavelli's most important concepts, so frequently used and so often misunderstood that it merits attention even in a brief report. Clearly, it does not mean "virtue" in the Christian sense. When Machiavelli gives us a catalogue of the possible virtues of a statesman, he mentions among others avarice, desire for power, inhuman cruelty, revenge.

The Latin meaning of some words used by Machiavelli is often a clue to better understanding. For example, the word "republic" in Machiavelli often means "commonwealth" or "State," as in the Latin *respublica*, and not necessarily a republic governed by an elected official. The word "Prince" does not always mean royalty, but merely the "head of State," as the Latin *princeps* implies, the principal citizen or premier; and in fact it applies not only to kings but to the General-in-Chief, to the Gonfaloniere of the Republic of Florence, to the Doge of the Republic of Venice, to the Pope, and even to a Senate or the Sovereign People of a Republic. In Machiavellian language, Washington would be called the Prince of the United States.

Similarly, Machiavelli used the word *virtue* with the Latin meaning of "force," to signify efficiency or expediency, without any moral content. The word *virtuous*, when applied by Machiavelli to a statesman, means simply that he possesses prompt, adequate and efficient force, and knows how to use it.

The Nature of Politics

This interpretation of politics free of morality is one of the discoveries of Machiavelli for which he has earned admiration or contempt. To him, politics must be judged only upon the basis of efficiency, and not of morality. There is no morality, no blame or merit in a liver, or in a stomach; a triangle is not good or bad; and a machine is good only if it works. The State has no morality even if its leaders hypocritically pretend so, knowing that the "morality" has an "advertising" power over the weak.

History, Machiavelli seems to tell us, is not a pursuit of happiness, but a struggle for existence. The life of nations is competition, health, conflict, victory, or it is sickness, ending in death. An obscure divinity, *Necessity* (the same which in Galileo was to be the divinity of earthly bodies; in Newton, the divinity of heavenly bodies), seems in Machiavelli to process blind historical forces into a series of events that have no reasonable explanation, no scope, and no end. Conflicts in history are conflicts of forces, not conflicts between good and evil; of States able to survive and those unable.

Necessity has made men in such a way that they rebel against disagreeable events and become bored with

pleasant conditions. In this unhappy, wretched human condition, change is always pursued and men are never satisfied for long. It is because of this atmosphere of wretchedness, conflict and war, which exhales from his writings, that Machiavelli is considered the adversary of all projects for universal peace and of all plans for regulating or stopping the flow of history. For Machiavelli, man is doomed to remain man forever.

The base nature of man will always give rise to problems: wealth will be envied, power will be challenged, even goodness will be questioned by men of other countries or other social positions—or by underdeveloped nations. What must a statesman do with this human race which is at times so wonderful yet so miserable, forever dissatisfied even when it has obtained what it has asked for, always seeking for more, or for something different?

Confronted with this humanity, the statesman's duty is clear. He is like the captain of a ship which must reach port. In spite of the complaints, demands and disorders of passengers and crew, the safety of the ship is paramount, not the happiness or satisfaction of this or that individual. The captain must take it upon himself to act in their behalf. If need be, he must treat them like children, or

kill them like enemies. They cannot be allowed to interfere with his orders or obstruct his operations. Abandoning the ship cannot be tolerated. Did Lincoln allow the South to secede? Weakness on the part of the captain is a crime. Did Eisenhower pardon the Rosenbergs? Even a man who is at heart tender and sensitive must become a stern ruler when the common good is at stake; any compromise with personal feelings would result in ruin for the people whom he leads. The Romans used to say: *salus reipublicae suprema lex*, the safety of the State is the supreme law.

If Lincoln's son had asked his father's permission to live by himself, in his own house, certainly Lincoln would have acceded to the request. If Eisenhower had been robbed in his home, he would assuredly not have killed the robber, even if he had caught him in the act. Was Lincoln cruel in declaring war on the Confederate States? Was Eisenhower cruel in refusing to commute the death sentences of the Rosenbergs? Of course not! And we say this only because of the distinction, expressed by Machiavelli for the first time, between public and private morality. When you carry the burden of responsibility for an organized society, your scruples of conscience become secondary. A statesman cannot be a gentleman always; he must accept the heavy duty of forgetting his own personal feelings, his habitual kindness, in order to enter into another sphere of action. This holds true also for a judge, for an Army General, for a ship's captain, for a foreman, for an engineer, in the performance of their several duties. Having accepted responsibility, they must act in accordance with the requirements of that position. We would blame them if they did not.

Lincoln as Machiavellian

Just the other day I ran across this statement made by Lincoln to a committee which was offering advice on the conduct of the war. "Gentlemen," he said, "suppose all the property you were worth was in gold and you had put it in the hands of an acrobat to carry across the Niagara River on a rope, would you shake the cable or keep shouting out to him: 'Stand up a little straighter—stoop a little more—go a little faster—lean a little more to the north—lean a little more to the south'? No! You would hold your breath as well as your tongue, and keep your hands off until he was safe over. The Government is carrying an immense weight. Untold treasures are in their hands. They are doing the very best they can. Don't badger them. Keep silence and we'll get you safe across."

In simple words, the mainspring of the accusation directed against Machiavelli has been that he favored a double standard of morality. But this double standard is a reality and a necessity.

May I quote from Lincoln again—this time when he defended himself against the accusation of having overridden the Constitution: "Was it possible to lose the nation and yet preserve the Constitution? By general law, life and limb must be protected, yet often a limb must be amputated to save a life, but a life is never wisely given to save a limb. I felt that measures, otherwise unconstitutional, might become lawful by becoming indispensable to the preservation of the Constitution through the preservation of the nation."

This passage is completely in the spirit of Machiavelli, and I dare say that in the highest sense of the word, even Lincoln, the purest incarnation of America, was, in his capacity as President of the United States, a Machiavellian.

Machiavelli finds that States are always in conflict. Even in times of peace they are preparing for the next war; every peace is but an interval between two wars. There is no tribunal above the State; indeed every State makes its own laws, some to be forced upon the conquered States, and others to be applied to its own citizens. Struggle is force, but consists also in tricks: the head of a State, says Machiavelli, must be as strong as a lion and as shrewd as a fox. If—says Machiavelli with a nostalgic sigh—if all men were good, these principles of mine would not be applicable; but since men are not angels, they must be treated as they deserve to be treated, with the ways of persuasion they will heed. Would you send an unarmed policeman to arrest armed murderers, or prevent a general from using a ruse to win a battle over an enemy? After a defeat the subjects—except for a few fanatics—point the finger of blame at their leader, no matter how sincerely he may explain that he behaved like a gentleman. A statesman or a general cannot afford to be a gentleman; he must not lose a battle because of his scruples.

Disliked by Dreamers

I think that the unpleasant but realistic picture of politics that Machiavelli saw in his reading of history and formulated into a science, is the principal reason for the aversion in which he is generally held. No one likes to be told of shortcomings. All religions and many philosophies are conceived in the hope of consoling mankind, and of transporting him into an imaginative, rose-tinted realm.

The aversion to Machiavelli was strengthened by the sometimes obscure vocabulary he used. Most prejudices against him are the result of an imperfect and superficial reading of his works. For example, it is not true that he mirrored only his own times; he speaks for all times. One has only to open any page of his books to see that his examples are taken from Roman, Greek and even Jewish history, as well as from the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Nor is it true that he speaks differently in *The Prince* and in the *Discourses*. Both works, written at the same time, express the same fundamental principles.

His thought has remained alive for centuries, notwithstanding the strongest condemnation by the Catholic Church, the stern reproach of the Protestants, and the opposition of all optimists and dreamers. Machiavelli is very much alive today. In my experience as a teacher, I have never had classes so interested, so excited, so impelled to argue and ask for explanations as in courses on Dante and Machiavelli, with the difference that the political issues in Dante are dead, while Machiavelli's interpretation of politics is still vital, and can be applied to many events of the contemporary struggle for world domination. We are the living witnesses to the force of his intellect, the vigor of his judgment, the sheer mastery of his ideas in their universal applications.

Principles and Heresies

FRANK S. MEYER

Abdication of Responsibility

THE PRESENT outbreak of chaos and barbarism in the Congo (Independence for An Aspiring Nation, to the reverent brethren of the press and the State Department) is a shameful regression in human history, for which the responsibility rests not upon the Africans, but upon the West—and principally upon the paramount power of the West, the United States. It is one more portent of the whirlwind that we shall continue to reap unless we cease to sow the wind.

Meyer

We do not blame children if they act like children, immaturely, intemperately, dangerously, when they are deserted by adults who are responsible for their guidance: we should not blame barbarians if they act like barbarians when they are deserted by those who have taken upon themselves responsibilities for raising them to civilization, and in doing so, have disrupted and destroyed the ancient continuity of their pre-civilized mode of existence.

This responsibility the West took for Africa when it still had confidence in itself and in the incomparable treasure its civilization carried with it. Having done so, there is no way in which it can morally relieve itself of the responsibility it assumed.

It has become fashionable to laugh at the phrase, "the white man's burden," but in the laughter what is forgotten, perhaps purposefully, is that the hegemony of Western civilization was indeed a burden, the assumption of which (despite all the imperfections and secondary motives in human action) represented high purpose, and confidence that the truth by which the West lived was the highest truth known to man. Behind all the self-congratulatory encomiums to which we trust ourselves about the "dissolution of colonialism" and the "end of imperialism," is the hard truth: decay of belief, failure of nerve and confidence, an immoral casting aside of burdens, a sloughing of responsibility.

The result of our abdication, under the conditions which exist in the world today, can only be Soviet domination, Communist slavery. But even if it were not for the Communist drive towards world domination, that abdication of responsibility by the West could result in nothing but chaos and decay. Not only is this true of areas of the world that have never progressed beyond barbarism, it is also true of the areas of ancient civilization—China, India, Islam. Those civilizations fell under the hegemony of the West, partly because they were decadent, partly because even at the time of their highest achievement, they represented a lower order of civilization than the civilization of the West with its glorious tension between belief in absolute transcendent value and belief in the terrestrial primacy of the individual person.

For China and India and the Perso-Arab world, as for Africa, the outcome of the West's failure to regain its self-understanding would be Communist lordship over a cemetery of the human spirit—and the moral responsibility would rest squarely upon us of the West who have put our hand to the plough and then looked back in spiritual weakness and intellectual indolence.

IF IT should be objected that this may be true of the West in general, but has no relevance to the United States, which was never a "colonial power," I would answer on two levels. In the first place, the United States is a child of the West grown to man's estate, and as such bears the responsibility of the civilization to which we owe our being. In the practical sphere, whether the Dutch were to remain in Indonesia and the British in India after World War II, whether today the French are to remain in Algeria, the Belgians to return to the Congo, the English and the Afrikaners to remain in South Africa, depended and depends upon our power and our decision.

But, in the second place, what of the American experience itself? Did we not make this nation by driving across a continent from sea to sea? Did we not in our earliest years assume hegemony of all the Americas? Did we not, with the Open Door policy, take upon ourselves the quasi-guardianship of China? Did we not in two World Wars vaunt ourselves champion of the values of Western civilization? Historically regarded, we may be no more guilty of retreat from responsibility than the older nations of the West, but we are in no position to plead a lesser guilt on the grounds of innocency.

THE STARK political realities of Western retreat are the direct product of decades of cultivation of characterological weakness on the basis of a sedulous propagation of the philosophical error which goes under the name of relativism: the doctrine that no truth in reality exists; that whatever a culture believes is as good as what any other culture believes (cannibalism or human sacrifice are not wrong, only "culturally relative" modes of human action); that therefore the West has nothing of which to be proud, nothing for which to fight, nothing worth dying for.

The reasons projected by the cultural relativists as foundation for their theories vary from year to year like Paris fashions. Anthropological discoveries, deep psychiatry, nuclear power, automation, the intellectually unwashed "insights" of the beatniks, space exploration—everything and anything is grist to the mill that grinds out theoretical justification for the constant demand for "a new look," any look that will spare the stern necessity of a return to the truths of our tradition. This is the smoke barrage that must be cleared away if we are to survive and fulfill our potentialities—potentialities as glorious as they are fraught with challenge to our spiritual and intellectual stamina.

From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

Do Teachers Need Federal Subsidies?

According to the National Education Association's officers, American teachers are an underprivileged (absurd word!) group, deserving of much higher pay. And they say that unless teachers' salaries are greatly increased, we will be unable to recruit enough competent personnel for public schools in the days that are at hand. *Ergo*, we must have federal subsidies to school districts and state educational systems. These arguments need close attention.

Kirk

Teachers never have been rewarded so well as they would like to be, or perhaps deserve to be. But relatively speaking, the emoluments of the American teacher in public schools have been improving rapidly, and promise to get better still, even without federal subsidies. In no other country are teachers better rewarded, relatively or absolutely.

Salaries Increased

During the past thirty years, the real income of public-school teachers (in constant dollars, or in terms of real purchasing power) has increased by 106 per cent, which is nearly twice as great an increase as that enjoyed by nonschool employees of state and local governments, and is 15 per cent greater than the average increase for all workers, public or private, in America. This is not poverty. During the same period, the work-load of the teacher has diminished through a reduction in the size of classes. (University and college professors have fared much worse—but that is another question.)

Between 1929 and 1956, in terms of 1956 dollars, the average public-school teacher's salary increased by $1,988. This was markedly greater than the increase received during that period by the average salary-or-wage earner, and much larger than the increase of the average governmental employee. Complete comparisons since 1956 are not yet available, but it appears that the trend in favor of teachers' income, relative to most other people's income, continues very favorable; it should amount to at least an increase of 30 per cent during the next decade, and possibly of 50 per cent, so that by 1970 the typical teacher may receive a salary of $6,700 to $7,750 (in terms of the purchasing power of 1960 dollars), for a work-year of only 180 days.

Among professional people, only the physician has increased his income proportionately better than has the teacher, in recent years. Teachers' incomes increased by 53 per cent, between 1929 and 1961; while dentists' incomes increased by only 21 per cent and lawyers' by 18 per cent. Although engineers are said to be in short supply nowadays, engineers' incomes did not increase nearly so satisfactorily, from 1929 to 1953, as did teachers': engineers' pay went up 15 per cent during that period, but teachers' pay increased 65 per cent. (Different years are used for these several comparisons, because statistics are not available for precisely the same periods.) In brief, teachers' income is increasing steadily and rapidly. Theirs is now one of the better-paid occupations. If there is a case for federal subsidies to teachers, why is there none for subsidies to dentists, lawyers and engineers? Or to all employees of state and local governments?

Recruits Attracted

But without federal subventions, the advocates of federal aid reply, promising young people will not be attracted to the teaching profession, and the teacher shortage will grow.

Indeed? Well, during the past ten years, in terms of real income, teachers' salaries have increased by 40 per cent. No greater rate of increase reasonably could be expected; and this incentive already seems sufficient. For about 32 per cent of all college graduates now complete preparation for a teaching certificate—that is, nearly a third of our educated young people plan to become teachers. The number of certified teachers in the public schools has grown by 57 per cent between 1950 and 1960, though the American labor force in general increased only by 12 per cent during that period. If we still suffer from a genuine teacher shortage, which seems doubtful, it soon will trickle away, what with the rapid rate of growth in the number of teachers.

So I find the case for federal subsidies for teachers' salaries exceedingly feeble. The subject is analyzed statistically at greater length in the two volumes of Mr. Roger Freeman's *Financing the Public Schools* ($5.00 a volume; Institute of Social Science Research, Continental Building, Washington 5, D.C.).

Borrow the Billions?

Public education now is the second largest item of federal, state and local public expenditure, surpassed only by national defense; it amounts to more than 15 per cent of total governmental cost. (The proportion for police is only 1.3 per cent; for public welfare, 3.2 per cent.) Throughout our national history, this load has been borne almost wholly by school districts and (in recent years) state treasuries.

Of these school costs, teachers' salaries require the lion's share. If the federal government is to contribute billions for salary subsidies, as the NEA zealots demand, where is the money to come from? Are we to take it away from the Defense Department, or the Department of Justice? President Kennedy certainly has no intention of increasing the income tax rate. So these billions would have to be borrowed, year after year. And teachers, like everyone else, would pay the price of borrowing, through inflation of the currency and interest on the tremendous national debt.

Aftermath of Malice

RODNEY GILBERT

Interest in the Bang-Jensen story will never wholly subside. For one thing, critics of the United Nations, on whatever count, will continue for years to find a great store of ammunition in it. For another, the circumstances under which the Danish diplomat met his death are still so far from being fully explained that trying to read this or that significance into them will remain a fascinating study. If it were ever established that Bang-Jensen was not a suicide, but was murdered, as many persist in believing, then the question of motives for such a crime would be the subject of lively speculation and of acrimonious debate. The backdrop to the Bang-Jensen tragedy is the Hungarian revolution of 1956 and the savage crushing of it by the Soviet Union's armed forces; and interest in that will never subside while the Red regime in Moscow survives. In *Betrayal at the UN*, by DeWitt Copp and Marshall Peck, there is certainly enough new material to warm up old controversies and start a few new ones.

The whole story is told in the first person and that person is never identified as either Copp or Peck, but is a composite author named Peter Marshall. So far as the form of the book goes, this is not Bang-Jensen's story, but a recital of Peter Marshall's encounters with the great number of persons from whom he sought information about Bang-Jensen, his impressions of them, their looks, their manners, their probable veracity or mendacity, and so forth. Even documents are dealt with in the same way. "I, Peter Marshall, read the Gross report and found it a vicious slander," or something like that. The book is a swift-moving record of a reportorial adventure. If these two newspapermen had dug up nothing new about Bang-Jensen, his controversy with the UN, and his still mysterious end, they would at least have written a good story about the way in which a seasoned reporter goes about his business.

PAUL BANG-JENSEN was a well-educated young Dane who already had a reputation as a clever lawyer when he came to the United States in 1939 for further legal study. When war broke out in Europe, Denmark was shortly overrun and the Danish Embassy in Washington was soon deep in such extracurricular work as the organization and support of a Danish underground at home and a government-in-exile abroad. The Embassy recruited Bang-Jensen into its service; and he continued as a Danish diplomat until he was taken over by the United Nations as a staff member of the Secretariat in 1949. Down to the time of the Hungarian revolution in 1956 he did nothing to make himself conspicuous, but he earned the reputation of being a brilliant fellow and of being sincerely devoted to the United Nations because he was sure that that organization had a beneficent mission in this wicked world. He was also vigorously, but not aggressively, anti-Communist.

***Betrayal at the UN*, by DeWitt Copp and Marshall Peck. Devin-Adair, $4.75**

The Hungarian revolt against the Soviet Union's dictatorial role, and the brutal squelching of it, took place in late October and early November 1956. The Hungarian case came quickly to the UN and the General Assembly authorized the creation of a Special Committee on Hungary to study what had happened and report. To the Committee was attached a small body of secretarial staff members as advisers and helpers. The head of this auxiliary group, with the title of Secretary, was William J. Jordan, a former British schoolmaster and veteran UN employee. Bang-Jensen was his deputy.

The Committee made only a perfunctory effort to get into Hungary. Some Hungarian refugees were interviewed in New York, after which the Committee took testimony from a great number of refugees in Rome, Vienna and Geneva. The job of interviewing the would-be witnesses, and scheduling them for their appearance before the Committee, fell to Bang-Jensen. Some witnesses would give testimony anonymously only; and while they were willing to tell the Dane who they were, it was only in exchange for his personal assurance that such information would never be revealed to anyone else on this earth. He thought he had authority in writing to give such a promise. As it transpired later this authority turned out to be worse than doubtful; and his much later refusal to surrender a list of 81 such real names of witnesses to the custody of a dubious character in the top ranks of the UN, technically laid him open to a charge of insubordination.

But even before the Committee returned from Europe, and before preliminary efforts had been made to shape up a report, Secretary Jordan and Deputy Secretary Bang-Jensen had taken such a dislike to each other that every meeting between them was a squabble over something. Then, when one chapter or another had been assigned to one staff member or another, and when Bang-Jensen was asked to check on this or that draft, he began his campaign against factual errors, omissions and contradictions which he could not get Secretary Jordan to take seriously. In his campaign against the report, which he thought studiously soft on the Russians, he soon began to talk of "sabotage," and tried to carry his protests over

the heads of his immediate superiors to the highest UN authorities. Such efforts gave rise to the charge of "misconduct" for which he was finally dismissed, while his refusal to surrender his material on the 81 anonymous Hungarian witnesses was the excuse for the charge of "insubordination."

But if I go on with this I'll be telling the whole story and thereby spoiling it. Bang-Jensen was relieved of his job as Deputy Secretary of the Special Committee on Hungary. Then he was suspended, on pay, from his UN post. Then, after a report on his misconduct by a special committee, headed by Mr. Ernest Gross, he was fired. He appealed to everything there was in the UN for a review of his case and was soon an unemployed job hunter. Getting a job proved to be inordinately difficult. In the course of his altercations with the UN, friends of that establishment had done their best to give him a black eye. If he was nothing worse, he was a crackpot, but he was also an alcoholic and maybe even a homosexual. CARE finally took him in on a temporary footing as a consultant. He was employed there when he disappeared for a few days in November 1959 and was found dead, with a bullet hole in his head in an obscure little park in Queens, early in the morning of Thanksgiving Day, by two local residents walking their dogs.

The police had concluded that Paul Bang-Jensen had shot himself in this out-of-the-way little park at some unknown hour on an uncertain date. They concluded that the park was so little traversed that the body might have been sprawled out there for a day or more. Peter Marshall learned things from local residents which seemed to prove that the body was not there in the late afternoon before the morning of its discovery. Bang-Jensen had left home on Monday morning to go to his CARE office. His body was not in the park late Wednesday afternoon, but he was found clean-shaven the following morning. From the crime thriller's point of view, the big question is where he was from Monday morning until Wednesday night. For all his diligent snooping and his sifting of motives, Peter Marshall turned up nothing at all. Even his speculations on why the Reds may have wanted to dispose of Bang-Jensen peter out rather sadly at the end; and Marshall is also handicapped by his own honest reports of the belief entertained by many of Bang-Jensen's old friends that he was really low enough in morale to commit suicide.

The whole much-publicized question of the custody of Bang-Jensen's list of the real names of 81 Hungarian witnesses was finally disposed of for keeps when he burned it on the roof of the building in the presence of three UN functionaries. This common-sense disposition of a useless document was originally suggested in a letter from Mr. Alsing Anderson to Dag Hammarskjold in which the Danish statesman, who had been president of the Special Committee on Hungary, answered various questions. Why no one had thought of it before must puzzle readers. If it was to be forever secret it could be of no use, good or ill, to anyone, while its continued possession by Bang-Jensen imposed a wholly unnecessary responsibility on him.

Press discussion of his subsequent talk of sabotage of the report, presumably in Soviet Russia's interest, infuriated the top-ranking custodians of the organization's good name and prestige. This was made evident enough when Andrew Cordier, deputy to the Secretary General, delivered a forty-minute denunciation of Bang-Jensen before the high Tribunal which revealed actual hatred, and was in itself enough to persuade great numbers who were following the case that Bang-Jensen was being subjected to pro-Communist persecution because he was revealing that the organization was infested with spies. Now, under Peter Marshall's guidance, we go over all that again, as this writer believes that we should do periodically—again and again.

Fiction

Modern Vocations

PETER MELIK

The heroine of Kingsley Amis' new novel is an elementary schoolteacher named Jenny Bunn. She is pretty, no fool, lower middle class, and nice—*i.e.*, at twenty she is still a virgin. She arrives in a new town for her first job, and she promptly meets Patrick Standish, who teaches Latin in the local public school. Patrick is something of an intellectual. He likes jazz and does not go to church and has bohemian friends. He also likes girls, and at thirty he is still a bachelor. He and Jenny are attracted to each other on the spot, and most of the novel that follows has to do with one issue: will Jenny, or will Jenny not, sleep with Patrick without benefit of wedlock?

Take a Girl Like You, by Kingsley Amis. Harcourt, $3.95

The Bachelors, by Muriel Spark. Lippincott, $3.95

The chase is always sharp-witted, occasionally tender, and frequently ruthless. Readers who prefer their fiction to remain fictitiously pleasant may even find the ending a little "too true to be good." When Patrick's first pass is rejected, he brings Jenny home and assures her, amiably, that this will have to be their last date. He likes his relationships to be realistic, and his sex on the line. But winter is coming, and it's a small town. In a week or so, Patrick is back, and a long, resourceful siege is under way. He woos, wheedles, harangues, threatens, pleads, moons. Jenny stands sweetly firm: friendship, dates, kissing—but no grand finale. She admits she has not been in a church for months, but she feels that something more important than mutual satisfaction is at stake. Even after she is sure that she herself is in love; even after Patrick has told her that she is the only girl he has ever *liked* (he's merely *loved* dozens), she persists.

At one point there is a period—grimly agreed upon—of intensive courting without coitus. At another, Patrick deliberately tries to tempt himself with another woman. All along there are pitched battles and bitter words, and then, finally, there is a party at which everyone gets drunk. Patrick goes after a new girl,

and in dismay Jenny drinks more and more. Suddenly, a remote part of her realizes she is in a bed. Patrick is beside her, and she hasn't the strength to resist. A sort of well-meaning rape is consummated, and the next morning, when Jenny weeps, Patrick says he is sorry, but also glad. "We're together now," he adds. "I've got you and you've got me." But there is no mention of marriage, and Jenny concludes things by saying, "These old Bible-class ideas have certainly taken a knocking, haven't they? . . . I can't help feeling it's rather a pity."

In other words, the community in which virginity was meaningfully related to marriage, which, in turn, was more than a legal tie—this community with its "Bible-class ideas" is not pertinent to the England in which Patrick and Jenny live. For Patrick, it is something which "died in 1914, or thereabouts." For Jenny, it is somewhere between a class sentiment and a racial memory. But for neither is it an organic, outside reality which can ordain right behavior. After being literally, if unmalevolently raped, Jenny can only tell herself that—well "there must have been something selfish" in her virginity, and from now on, she'd better "learn to take the rough and the smooth, just like everybody else."

IN *The Bachelors*, Muriel Spark has a hard look at this same non-community, and, again, the symbol of things falling apart that she uses is the obstinately unattached male. Nearly a dozen dash in and out of her gravely madcap story about a fraudulent spiritualist. They all suffer, and cause suffering, and Miss Spark makes it very clear that this is primarily because they belong to no one but themselves. The only exception is an Irishman named Matthew. Like Patrick, he is thirty, strongly sexed, and prone to preserve his freedom. But he is also a Catholic, and as such, he has something besides his own satisfaction to answer to. He may be single, but he despises himself for it. "There are two callings," he declares, "Holy Orders and Holy Matrimony, and one must choose. . . . It's everyone's duty to be fruitful and multiply according to his calling, either spiritual or temporal. . . ." In the end, Matthew does marry, and though no one can be sure he will be happy, at least he has committed himself to someone else, and will be spared the life of trivial self-preservation all the other bachelors are damned to.

So here we have it—as witnessed by two of Britain's most talented younger novelists—a world in which an increasing number of people are enjoined by nothing more serious than the rising cost of living. Mr. Amis assents. Miss Spark dissents. Both, though, overlook what may be happening within this melancholy picture, for they both tend, implicitly, to assume that Truth—*i.e.*, revealed Truth—and Community are inseparable, and that if a man is not, like Matthew, born within the Catholic community, then he must necessarily, like Patrick, act like a high-school atheist. But these are not the only possibilities.

The Truth is still the Truth. For if a man is honest, he knows that he is, above all, a creature in need—in need of love, of being loved, of learning to love, or more likely, learning that he can probably never love, but only possess. For instance, Patrick is certainly in need, and his body and soul have even been wise enough to choose him a girl to bring his need to. It is only his not very honest *mind* that resists committing himself to her. Once he is a little less chicanerous, with himself as well as others, he will see his condition.

This is where the Truth, for a human being, begins; and when a man sees what he is, then the rest of the Truth, the Catholic Truth, readily follows. It is neither complicated nor inaccessible. It is only the community sense of this Truth which may, for our time being, have lapsed. This is sad, perhaps; and lonesome certainly; but not unbearable. That it may not be our grace to enjoy so unearned a sense of community as people did in 1361, or that God may not seem so palpably related to the visible world as He did then, is not so awful. It is simply the difference between our century and the fourteenth. After all, we are spared the Black Death and the Great Schism, which unnerved men of good will as much 600 years ago as the H-bomb or the non-community described by Mr. Amis and Miss Spark may chill us today. But the Truth, and what St. Luke said about the location of the Kingdom of Heaven, are just as available as they ever were. And more individuals, I suspect, are privately, invisibly exploring them than any public record will be able to show for maybe decades to come, even centuries.

The Revolutionary Tradition

STEPHEN TONSOR

TO THE historians of the nineteenth century two words provided the key to human history. They were "continuity" and "development." These Romantic-conservatives saw revolution as wrong, not because they found it intellectually and ethically antithetic but because all revolution and particularly the French Revolution broke the ties of continuity which bound past, present and future into one organic whole. Lord Acton rhetorically inquired, "What was the revolution?" His answer was clear: "The defeat of History, History dethroned." Little wonder that the historians of the nineteenth century tended to emphasize the growth and development of tradition at the expense of novelty, innovation and revolution.

But as the century wore on the searchers for historical continuity turned to an examination of the principles of the revolution itself. They discovered that these principles too possessed a continuity and represented a tradition. As an older and wiser Lord Acton put it, ". . . the unexpected truth, stranger than fiction, is that this [the French Revolution] was not the ruin but the renovation of history. Directly and indirectly, by process of development and process of reaction, an impulse was given which made it infinitely more effectual as a factor of civilization than ever before, and a movement began in the world of minds which was deeper and more serious than the revival of learning."

Lord Acton wrote these words in 1895, but the revolutionary tradition

Political Messianism, The Romantic Phase, by J. L. Talmon. Praeger, $8.50

Spring Book Number

The April 22 issue of NATIONAL REVIEW will be a special book number, including reviews by:

Evelyn Waugh *(Chesterton: Man and Mask,* by Garry Wills)

James Jackson Kilpatrick *(Mid-century,* by John Dos Passos)

Ross J. S. Hoffman *(Revolution and Papacy,* by E. E. Y. Hales)

Thomas Molnar *(A History of the Cold War,* by John Lukacs)

Joan Didion, fiction of the spring season

was incompletely explored until Professor J. L. Talmon published *The Rise of Totalitarian Democracy* some years ago, and now has complemented it by publishing the second volume of this monumental study: *Political Messianism, The Romantic Phase.*

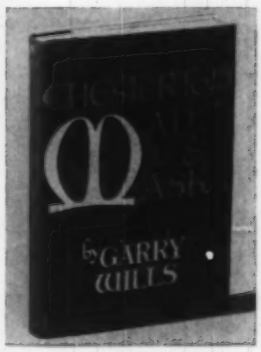
The basic ideas in Professor Talmon's analysis of the revolutionary tradition are developed in *The Rise of Totalitarian Democracy.* The revolutionary faith was based upon simple and uncomplicated postulates. The Jacobin-Babouvist tradition insisted on the essential goodness of man. The evils of eighteenth-century society were seen as evils external to man, and once revolution had stripped away the corrupting influence of man's social environment men would create for themselves a cooperative and rational social order. The revolution was a secular, humanist religion and the establishment of revolutionary principles would result, it was commonly believed, in the fulfillment of the millenial hope. Man was to be liberated from all dependence, all inequalities were to be leveled, and he was to conform himself to and fulfill himself through the general will. But enforced education and equality clearly call for coercion. Thus, even before the French revolutionary state was shattered on the rocks of historical reality, the revolutionary tradition had developed its concepts of totalitarian democracy, of the millenial revolutionary certainty, of the revolutionary elite and the concept of permanent revolution, and finally of the absolute necessity of coercion and conformity.

The collapse of the revolution did not lead to disillusionment. The second volume, *Political Messianism, The Romantic Phase,* depicts how history and the new mode of production represented by the industrial revolution were called in to justify the exaggerated hopes of the millenial enthusiasts. Phantasts and prophets coined their neurotic longings into the easily comprehended slogans which were so effective with the literate proletariat. Marx later attempted to dissociate his "scientific socialism" from the dreams of these "Utopians," but it is clear from the evidence which Professor Talmon presents that Marx too was a millenial enthusiast. His perverted religion was as rigidly rationalist and scholastic as ever was a demonstration by St. Thomas.

By all odds the most interesting aspect of Professor Talmon's second volume is the section in which he deals with the abortive 1848 revolution. Here revolutionary theory confronts historical reality and the result is the complete failure by the revolution to master the historical situation. It is clear from the evidence which Professor Talmon presents that the revolution was not historically inevitable. It was not the result of pauperization and famine, nor the result of oppression, nor least of all the result of rapid industrialization. If it is to be explained, the explanation must be in terms of revolutionary agitation and historical accident. And more surprising for Left and Right alike, when the revolution was secured and the democracy consulted they voted overwhelmingly in terms of property and order, abolishing the revolution by establishing the Bonapartist tyranny. It is in this way that history betrays the oracles and sibyls who claim access to her secrets.

The key to an understanding of the revolutionary tradition is an understanding of its messianic and millenial nature. At the personal level the revolution resolves the loss of religious certainties and the rootlessness and frustration of modern man. At the social level it resolves the conflicts which always arise in a society which is governed by free choice. That it accomplishes this in terms which are not greatly different from those employed by the Jehovah's Witnesses may come as a surprise to

A much-praised but little understood writer, as seen by a brilliant young American critic



CHESTERTON

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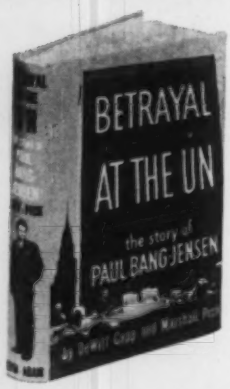

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those who have taken the Marxian claim to scientific validity at face value.

Professor Talmon's study raises but does not answer the question of alternatives. Obviously the nationalist-collectivist messianism of authoritarian right is not a solution compatible with humanity and rationality. Those who today describe themselves as conservatives may be surprised to learn that conservatives have traditionally, as in the case of Burke, ascribed to the state millenial objectives incompatible with freedom. It is for this reason conservatives have sometimes been willing to legislate morality and regulate society for the public benefit. Whether the source is Christian or Marxian concern for order, millenial objectives finally require the instrumentalities of the police state.

If we are resolved to be free men then we must give ourselves unconditionally to freedom with all of its uncertainties and all of its dilemmas. We must believe, as the traditional liberals believed, that the only objective of government is the prevention of injury to the life or property of another and that beyond this the state has no right to go. It will not pass blue laws, enforce total abstinence, or prevent birth control. It will not seek to make men better or wiser or wealthier than they themselves wish to be.

Theater

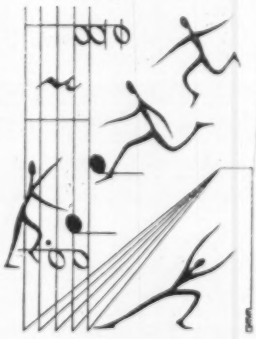
Make Mine Camelot

PRISCILLA L. BUCKLEY

At the risk of engaging in conduct unbecoming a critic, I'll take *Camelot*. Admitted it's the grandest, the most lavish, the most expensive show on Broadway (this in itself is enough to ensure critical wrath), it's also the best musical to hit town since *Fiorello!*—and it was high time. Of this year's musical offerings, three, *Irma La Douce, The Unsinkable Molly Brown* and *Wildcat* are one-woman shows. One's liking for them is roughly in ratio to one's admiration for the particular star. And enough people seem to be getting a kick out of the gamine antics of Elizabeth Seal, Tammy Grimes' boisterous hamming and Lucille Ball's brand of slapstick to keep their theaters wellnigh filled. But why *Do Re Mi*, and to a lesser extent *Tenderloin*, have been so heartily acclaimed beats me. That *Do Re Mi* was, by and large, more warmly received than *Camelot* can only be put down to the resolute determination of New York's leading critics not to be swept away by the latest Lerner and Loewe.

In an era when most Broadway productions, no matter what their content, come gorgeously packaged, the sets of *Do Re Mi* strike one as tasteless, garish and unimaginative. Like the rest of the show. One can almost hear the IBM computer click out the formula for success: so many comedy routines, so many pretty girls, so many dances, a dash of sentiment and there you have it, a slick, fast brassy show—with about as much heart as an amoeba.

There are a redeeming feature or two, conceded. Adolph Green and Betty Comden write some of the day's sharpest lyrics. But the first act is well into its fifth scene before Phil Silvers (Hubie Cram) brings the show to life with "It's Legitimate," a rollicking ditty during the course of which he enlists three ex-hoods into his jukebox business, assuring them that it really *is* legitimate, "clean as the PTA." The only time poor Nancy Walker (Mrs. Cram) gets airborne is with the number "Adventure." (Everyone on Broadway keeps on telling everyone else on Broadway that Nancy Walker is the funniest comedienne around, and all she needs to prove it is a good show—a good show—a good show.) And finally, a third ingenious song, "The Late Late Show," a split level



Books of Interest

Casanova's Chinese Restaurant, by Anthony Powell (Little, Brown, $4). A brilliant novel about London during the thirties, one more segment in Powell's intricate jigsaw *The Music of Time*.

The World of Musical Comedy, by Stanley Green (Ziff-Davis, $10). A good reference book, full of pictures and names, about a genre that has proved less ephemeral than anyone might have guessed.

Name and Address: An Autobiography, by T. S. Matthews (Simon and Schuster, $4.50). Although this might be just another *Time* editor recanting, with the painful compulsiveness peculiar to ex-Lucemen and ex-Communists, Mr. Matthews has managed to make his odyssey seem the common property of his contemporaries.

The Nephew, by James Purdy (Farrar, $3.95). A sure little novel in which something very interesting and offbeat is going on between the lines, and any resemblance to *Winesburg, Ohio* is strictly red herring.

piece which calls for the kind of hamming Phil Silvers is so good at, or so say those who go in for the rolling-eyeball school of acting.

TENDERLOIN, several notches above *Do Re Mi* in audience appeal, is the story of a crusading preacher (Maurice Evans) who sets out to clean up New York's wide-open "Tenderloin" district in the '90s. As so often happens in situations of this sort, Vice—personified here by the light-hearted, good-hearted girls of the Tenderloin and the attractively venal members of the local constabulary—proves more attractive by far than Virtue—the stuffy Dr. Andrew Brok. And when virtue triumphs in the end—as it must in all proper musical comedies—there's a calamitous letdown. On the plus side, *Tenderloin* has a lively score with more than its quota of hummable tunes; at least two beautifully-staged and choreographed scenes, one at the beach (the costumes are not to be believed) and a second when the Reverend Brok invades Clark's (an establishment for young ladies of no reputation) and exhorts its joyfully sinful habitués to try "Good Clean Fun." Performances by Eileen Rodgers, head girl at Clark's, and by Ron Husmann, the juvenile lead (both, incidentally, members of the original *Fiorello!* cast) mark them as comers; it's a pleasure to hear them sing. But the casting of Maurice Evans as Dr. Brok struck me as a *tour de force* that failed. And nothing is worse. Mr. Evans seemed vaguely uncomfortable in the part, as if unsure himself whether the joke would come off, perhaps because he is too small physically, his style too restrained, his elocution, if you will, too perfect, to portray the bullheaded Dr. Brok convincingly.

ANYONE arriving at *Camelot* with the idea that this is the Round Table of Sir Thomas Mallory, Lord Tennyson or even Mark Twain is in for a shock. It's a light-hearted extrapolation by Messrs. Lerner and Loewe of T. H. White's brilliant *The Once and Future King*, an at once irreverent and sympathetic handling of the Arthurian story. In *Camelot*, as in Mr. White's novel, Merlin "youths" rather than ages (he knows the future but hasn't yet lived his past.) Arthur is White's bumbling, well-meaning young man; the relationship between Guinevere and Lancelot remains platonic because of the real love they both bear the King. And, while the play itself closes on a muted note—it is the day of the battle in which we know Arthur is to die—the over-all feeling has been one of gaiety and joy.

The Arthurian story could so easily be stuffy, but it isn't, here. When the knights are invited to a court dinner, they "nip over to the blacksmith's to pick up their formal togs." Lancelot, who arrives in Camelot anxious to kill a dragon, save a maiden, capture a castle, is told by an embarrassed Arthur that "actually, there's nothing much doing today." After a first good look at the conniving Sir Mordred (Roddy McDowell) Guinevere remarks that he "is bound to marry well—*everyone* is above him." Mordred manages to enlist a

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—FRANK S. MEYER

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Billie-Burkish Morgan the Fey in his scheme to destroy Arthur by melodiously offering her marzipan and candy canes, lollipops and chocolate bars and bushel baskets of marshmallow creams. "Not marshmallow creams?" she sighs gluttonously, and succumbs, which makes this the only version of the story in which Morgan the Fey's sweet tooth is the proximate cause of the dissolution of the Round Table.

From the minute the curtain goes up and the lords and ladies of the court prance across the scene in a high-stepping, fast-lilting walk, arrayed in the most tasteful of vivid costumes, the show is off on a rampage of color, music, dance and laughter—as richly caparisoned as it was in the power of men with imagination to make it. Sir Lancelot's arrival is hilarious. He lists the virtues a knight should have to belong to the Round Table; asks if such a paragon exists and modestly admits, "*C'est moi.*" ("Had I been made the partner of Eve, we'd be in Eden still!") Julie Andrews, as Guinevere, taking up where she left off in *My Fair Lady*, sets toes to tapping with the cleverly worded "Lusty Month of May" ("when the birds and bees, with all their past, look on the human race aghast.") and "Then You May Take Me to the Fair"—songs which will be coming our way for a long time to come, as will the lyrical "How to Handle a Woman" and "I Loved You Once in Silence."

On top of its multitudinous other virtues, what a pleasure it is to hear the English language spoken and sung as it is in *Camelot*—with precision. Every syllable clipped and clearly enunciated, for all the world as if Richard Burton, Julie Andrews, Robert Goulet and Roddy McDowell had, all of them, a minute or so ago emerged from Professor Higgins' parlor.

"It should *be read by every American engaged in Foreign Service, from the new President down."*
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BOOKS IN BRIEF

IN PLACE OF FOLLY, by Norman Cousins (Harper, $3). The "folly" in Mr. Cousins' title is the manufacture of nuclear weapons for purposes of national defense. To make the epithet stick, he devotes a lurid, if obsolete, chapter to atmospheric fallout (superannuated by underground testing), others to the projected horrors of atomic and chemical warfare. His alternative: let America surrender its means of defense, and leave the job of keeping the peace to the United Nations. Might not the Soviets seize the occasion to destroy us? Mr. Cousins is sanguine. After all, Communism "has been made flexible enough to embrace what the Soviet leaders considered to be a larger purpose. The same is probably true on the international level in the making of peace." *Ergo*, we can give up our arms, the Kremlin will follow suit, and we shall all live happily ever after in a "structured peace" (whatever that is). In place of folly, Mr. Cousins would give us absurdity. M. S. EVANS

JAPANESE INN, by Oliver Statler (Random House, $6.50). It was while he was attached to the American Occupation Forces in Japan that Mr. Statler became acquainted with a distinguished and century-old hostelry called the Minaguchi-ya. With the sea on one side, and the great artery of the Tokaido Road on the other, its hospitality had been embodied by twenty generations of the same family, and its doorstep crossed by pilgrims, lovers, brigands, refugees, generals, salesmen, prostitutes of both genders, and, once, even the Emperor Hirohito himself. Listening as alertly as Chaucer at the Tabard Inn, Mr. Statler has garnered it all—400 years of legend and scandal, disaster and change—and the result is a wholly delightful book. It is also the sort of thing which probably only an outsider could have done this freshly, for the best thing Mr. Statler brings his readers is his own gently delighting wonder at lives and traditions so unlike his own.

P. MELIK

THE PRIVATE PAPERS OF HORE-BELISHA, by R. J. Minney (Doubleday, $4.50). This shoddy book almost ruins an extremely interesting story. But not even the author's slapped-together account can destroy the drama of the short but flamboyant career of Leslie Hore-Belisha as Britain's War Minister. He directed the stodgy British Army from 1937, when war clouds already darkened continental horizons, until early 1940—a few months before the troops he had worked so hard to prepare were overrun by Hitler's *Panzers*. He was prescient enough to realize that *time* was in shortest supply. But speed made his sweeping reforms all the more "shocking," and he made enemies too powerful to withstand. Like the tradition-bound generals he sacked, Hore-Belisha was ousted without warning, his career destroyed. An absorbing page of history, badly rendered.

J. P. MCFADDEN

CAGLIOSTRO, by W. R. H. Trowbridge (University Books, $6.50). This is a reissue, for cultists of exotica, of a 1910 "defense" of Cagliostro from the charge of being one Giuseppe Balsama, Italian peasant turned "Count." The author seems to work on the assumption that no man could be all bad who died (or did he?) at the hands of the Inquisition. The special pleading this involves, and the need to be gulled, make one realize how it is Cagliostros make their colorful livings. In fact, the spectacle of such innocence asking to be duped is almost enough to call back the witty Count and his beautiful wife—if the book was not, in fact, séance-dictated by their shades. The amanuensis is dead serious, but the ghost who dictates is winking.

G. WILLS

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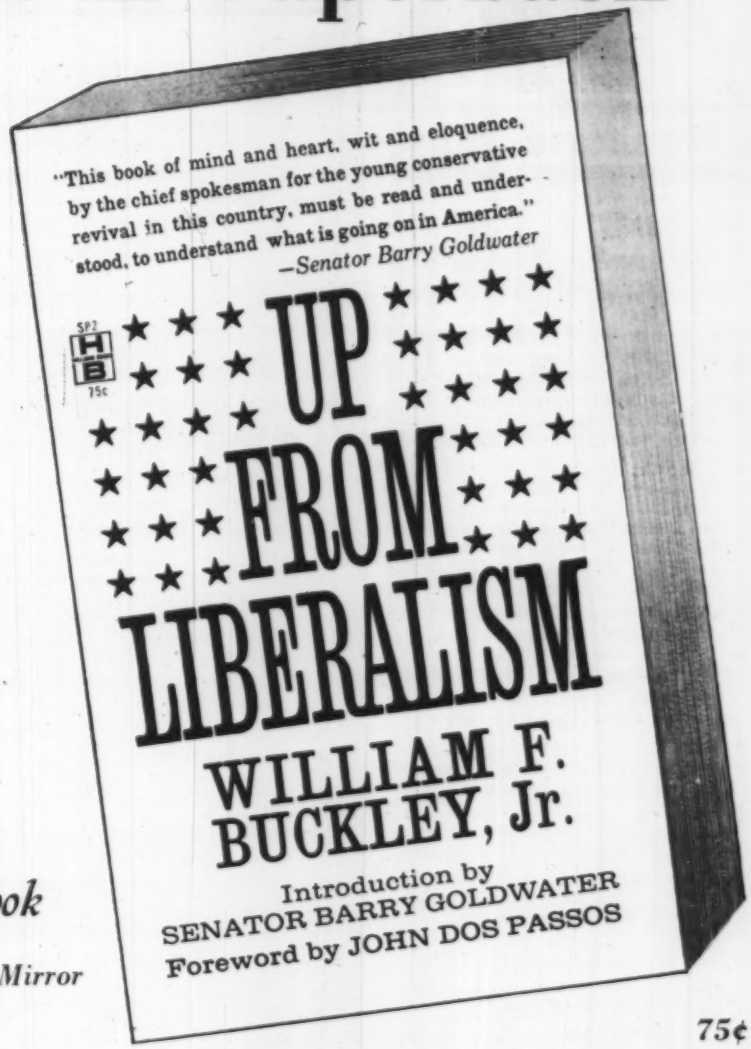
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To the Editor

Recommendation in Reverse

As a steady reader (through the public library periodical section) of your magazine, I want to thank you for acting as my "guide and philosopher," if not "friend."

I carefully study your point of view so that I may know what *not* to believe. However, I have a queasy doubt—so far, you have not criticized President Kennedy overmuch—which causes me to fear there may be something wrong with him. When you really take to your accustomed virulence in discussing him, then and only then shall I feel that the country is safe in his hands.

So you see, your magazine is of some use even to an avowed Liberal!

Syracuse, N.Y. ANNE R. HONEY

Eichmann Tours

May I raise a point of fact in connection with your note concerning various arrangements for the Eichmann trial ["The Week," March 11].

The lawyers' tour to which you refer is a commercial project undertaken by a tour operator in this country. The Israel Government Tourist Office was asked, in line with the general arrangements it makes in welcoming tourists visiting Israel, to help the group meet their counterparts in the Israel Bar Association, visit the law faculty of the Hebrew University, get a briefing on Israel law from an official of the Ministry (not the Minister) of Justice, and be permitted to attend one of the sessions of the Eichmann trial.

The Government of Israel has in no way sponsored this tour and is not and cannot be held responsible for any of its details.

Washington, D.C. MICHAEL ARNON
Counselor, Head of Information Services
Embassy of Israel

Inconsistency?

There seems to be a lack of agreement, or else inconsistency, in the views of NATIONAL REVIEW contributors on the subject of federal control of education.

Thomas F. Coon ["HUAC: A Calm View," February 11] seems to have no distaste for the very real federal control of education that results from inquisitions of teachers by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Russell Kirk regularly expresses concern that financial assistance by the federal government will lead to federal determination of textbooks, required curricula, professional competence and other indirect controls.

Federal assistance through grants-in-aid has not resulted in uniformity of federal control in such programs as Unemployment Compensation. Anyone who has ever worked in the US program will quickly inform you that variation in the amount and duration of UC benefits, and in the attitudes of those who administer them, cause the UC program to be both quantitatively and qualitatively different in very great degree from one state to another.

There is a much more real and immediate danger of federal control from the unchecked use of congressional power to investigate. One need only consider the present timidity of educators and their reluctance to dissent from conventional views on morals, manners, and politics to realize how intimidated teachers are already without HUAC badgering.

It is hypocritical to oppose federal financial assistance as potential federal control while approving federal interference with teachers' freedom of expression, an existing control.

Eau Claire, Wis. PAUL R. CARLSTEN
Political Science Dept.
Wisconsin State College

Lenten Abstinence

TIMING TOUR DURING LENT MAY BE REASON AFRICANS HAVEN'T ALREADY HAD A BELLYFULL OF SOAPY.

Washington, D.C. P. L. WORMELEY IV

An Irresponsible Court

In the various comments in NATIONAL REVIEW ["Footnote to *Brown* v. *Board of Education*," by William F. Buckley Jr., March 11] and elsewhere on *Brown* v. *Board of Education* and its sequels, I have not seen any reference to what seems to me the heart of the matter, which is Section 5 of the Fourteenth Amendment.

As I read this section—which says

"the Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article"—it indicates clearly that the Supreme Court far overstepped its proper bounds in attempting to legislate in this matter.

The prior position of the Court in favor of "separate but equal" schools had stood for more than fifty years, during which 25 Congresses, with full power to change the situation, took no action and to all appearances fully acquiesced in the earlier judgment of the Court.

Since sociology, on which *Brown* v. *Board of Education* relied, is far from being an exact science, the Supreme Court substituted guesswork for law in the case and ignored the constitutional mandate.

Los Angeles, Cal. E. G. KRAUSS

His Last Consolation Gone

Until this week I enjoyed the last consolation of the conservative—that of not knowing the worst. However . . .

A 30-year-old graduate student in modern history informed me the other day that we ought not only to admit Communist China to the United Nations (this is *long* overdue); we should also press for revamping the UN to give the greatest voting strength to the most populous countries. China must get the biggest bloc of votes, then India, then Russia, and so on. In no other way, I learned, can we testify to our sincere belief in the democratic principle of majority rule.

In like manner, our immigration laws should be revised to grant the largest quota to Mao's China, India next—you know. In this way, my colleague explicitly said, a population shift will reduce the likelihood of Sino-American conflict.

Footnote to history: The present estrangement between the U.S. and China is not necessarily related to the Communist revolution there. (That is simply the latest of a series of revolutions in China.) The trouble began in 1945 with America's deliberate abandonment of its friendship with China by choosing instead an alliance with Japan. Naturally the Chinese people turned to Russia for an ally. "I'm looking at this from a Chinese point of view."

Mah-jong, anyone?

Baltimore, Md. J. D. FUTCH

'Spring Planting'

That article of Barry Goldwater's ["A Foreign Policy for America," March 25] seems to me the most important thing NATIONAL REVIEW has published. I wondered why you didn't offer reprints for sale in quantities. It ought to be broadcast from airplanes, like a national spring planting, all over the country.

New York City MAX EASTMAN

Reprints of "A Foreign Policy for America" are available now at the following prices: Single copy, 25 cents; 100 copies, $20.00; 1,000 copies, $150.00. —ED.

The Apathy of Businessmen

With reference to your editorial "McCormick & Graham" [March 25] please be advised that a group of responsible businessmen here in Dallas were interested in attempting to acquire controlling interest in *Newsweek* magazine. Indeed, negotiations were under way when the interest was sold to the *Washington Post.*

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. . . We must consider what state all men are naturally in, and that is a state of perfect freedom to order their actions and dispose of their possessions and persons as they think fit.

John Locke n "Civil Government"

Individual freedom is a natural thing. It comes to us from our Creator as part and parcel of our humanity. It's nothing we have taken from others . . . nothing bestowed on us by a benevolent government.

Yet, proponents of the welfare state seek to rob us of this innate freedom — first through socialized medicine, farm subsidies and federal control of business . . . ultimately through socialization of every phase of activity we know.

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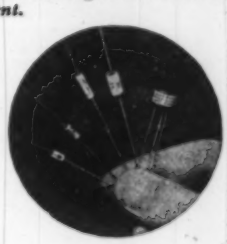

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PERSONAL

WANTED. An intellectual, who will write 750 word defense of House Committee on Un-American Activities for *The Dartmouth*, student newspaper of Dartmouth College. Have not been able to find anyone in Dartmouth area disposed to write same. Inquire editor, The Dartmouth, Hanover, New Hampshire.

A JOHN GALT (age 27) desires to correspond with a Dagny Taggert. Write Box 52, National Review.

the executives of *Newsweek* was that little or no change in the format of the magazine was to be made by those acquiring it. Further, the purchasing group was not to attempt to use the magazine as a crusading vehicle. In line with your thinking, I seriously doubt that the *Washington Post* and Philip Graham in any way will conform to this request, if such was made of their group.

The apathy of the American businessman I consider to be one of the phenomenal aspects of the present political scene. He is being led passively to the slaughterhouse in the socio-Communist world. In all fields and areas where he could have effected substantial resistance, he remains quiescent, conciliatory and naive. Unfortunately, his main weapon of retaliation—economic independence—is slowly being torn from him, leaving him easy prey. And through it all, he seems glad enough to pay for the ride to his own execution.

Dallas, Texas L. L. LOGUE

Not Satisfied

I appreciate your printing my letter ["To the Editor," March 25] on W. H. von Dreele's "It Happens in New York," but in printing only parts of it the convenient omissions made Mr. von Dreele's answer quite plausible. Inasmuch as I think more highly of his poetry than I do of his journalistic endeavors, I will try to communicate in his language:

In the March 25th NATIONAL REVIEW,
You published a letter I sent to you.
I said Mr. von Dreele didn't prove his case,
But part of my letter you did erase.
The parochial schools, I did so state,
In New York City don't segregate.
And so by the process of elimination,
Only private-school children enjoy segregation.
Again I ask, not satisfied,
How many of these in Park West abide?
In projects of the type "Park West,"
We find that working couples rest.
And whence the patter of little feet,
Out to suburbia they retreat.
For at such rents they can emigrate,
To the opposite shore, the Garden State.
So Mr. von Dreele to prove your point,
Tell us, how many children live in the joint?

Brooklyn, N.Y. ROBERT S. TOWNSEND

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